REPORT RESUMES

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AMERICAN WOMEN.

PRESIDENTS COMM. ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

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FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION AND SEVEN COMMITTEES WHO ASSESSED THE STATUS OF WOMEN ARE REPORTED. THE COMMITTEES MADE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE AREAS--WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND COUNSELING, HOME AND COMMUNITY SERVICES, PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT (THAT UNDER FEDERAL CONTRACTS), EMPLOYMENT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, LABOR STANDARDS, FEDERAL SOCIAL INSURANCE AND TAXES AS THEY AFFECT WOMEN, THE LEGAL TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN RESPECT TO CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, AND WOMEN AS CITIZENS. SOME RECOMMENDATIONS WERE--(1) GREATER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE VALUE OF CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR ALL MATURE AMERICANS SHOULD HAVE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON THE AMERICAN AGENDA, AND IT IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO WOMEN, (2) COUNSELING SERVICES SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED AT ALL LEVELS IN ALL SCHOOLS AND IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT, (3) EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY EXAMINED TO DISCOVER MORE EFFECTIVE APPROACHES, (4) EXPANDED COMMUNITY SERVICES SUCH AS CHILD CARE, HEALTH, EDUCATION, SAFETY, RECREATION, AND COUNSELING SHOULD BE PROVIDED TO MAINTAIN THE FAMILY AS THE CORE INSTITUTION OF SOCIETY, (5) GOVERNMENT SERVICE AS A SHOWCASE FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY SHOULD EMPLOY WOMEN PART-TIME AND SHOULD PROVIDE LEADERSHIP IN EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN, (6) LABOR LEGISLATION SHOULD BE ENACTED TO ASSURE WOMEN EQUAL PAY, MINIMUM WAGES, LIMITED MAXIMUM HOURS, AND THE RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, AND (7) WIDOW BENEFITS, UNEMPLOYMENT COVERAGE, AND MATERNITY OR COMPARABLE INSURANCE BENEFITS SHOULD BE EXTENDED. THE CONCLUDING SECTION PRESENTS 20TH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO WOMEN SUCH AS INCREASED LONGEVITY, IMPROVED HEALTH, URBANIZATION, HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING, MULTIPLE ROLES OF CONTEMPORARY WOMEN, AND GREATER NUMBERS OF WORKING WOMEN, WHICH ARE PERTINENT TO THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS. THIS DOCUMENT IS AVAILABLE AS PR35.8--W84/AM3 FOR $1.25 FROM SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS, U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20402. (FP)

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AMERICAN WOMEN

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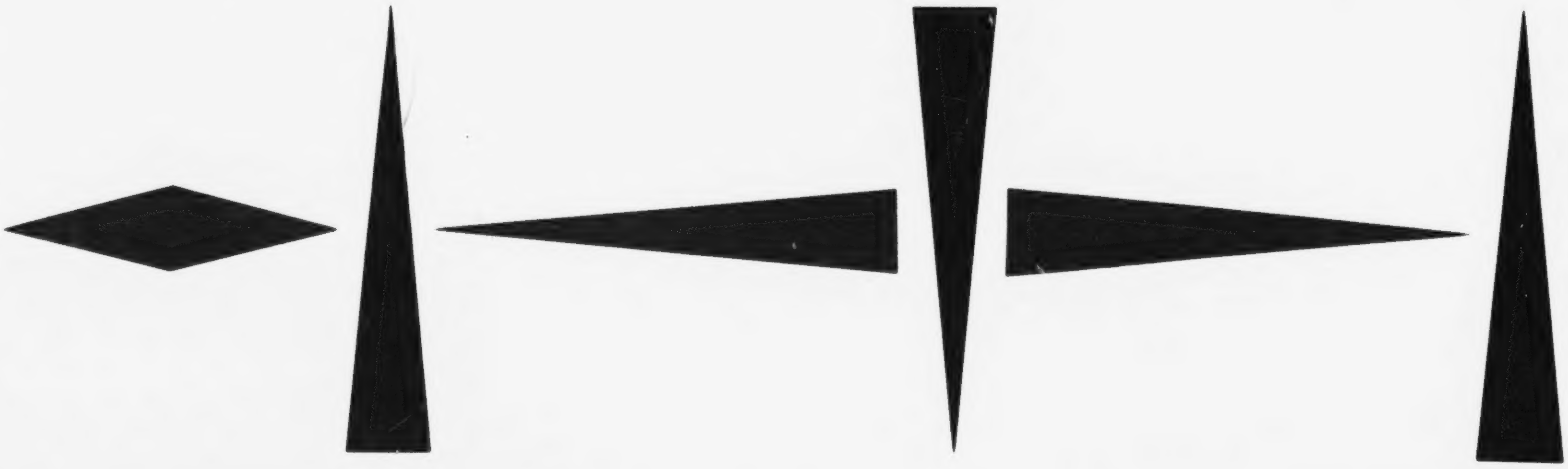
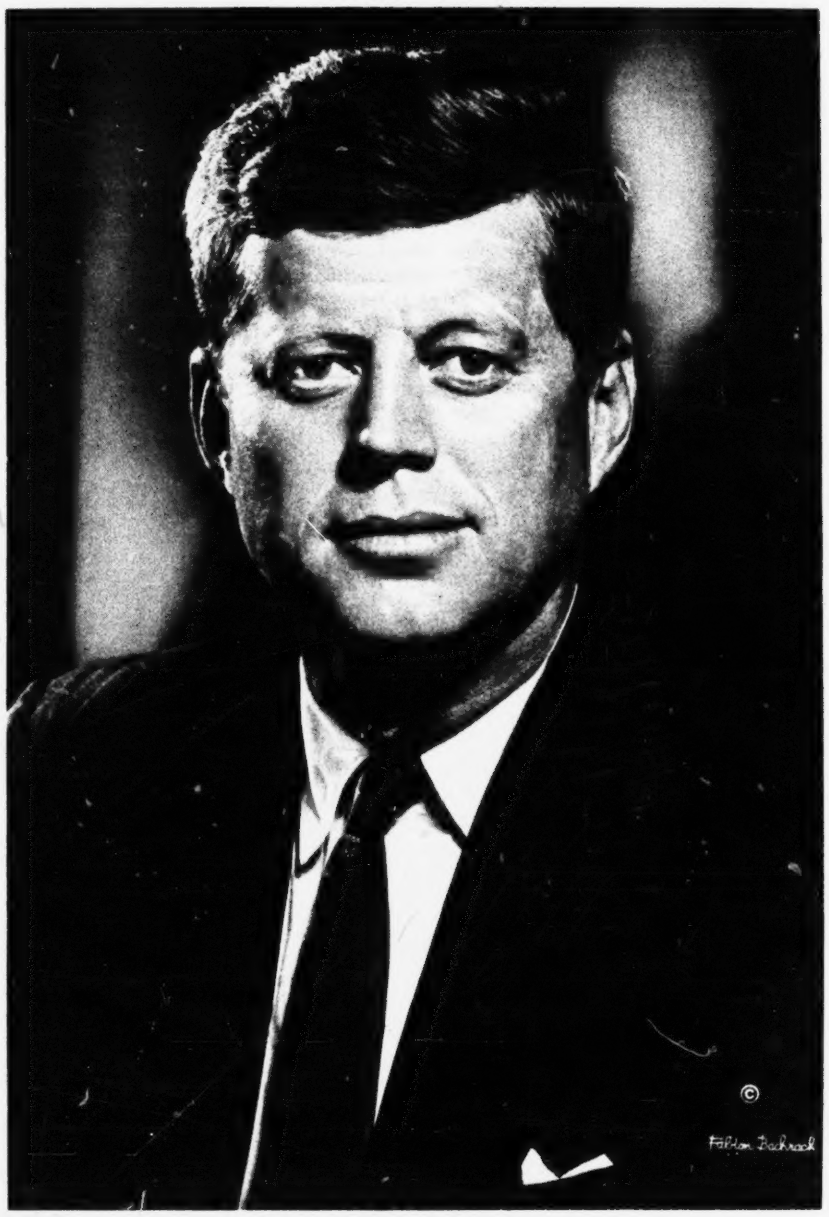
AMERICAN WOMEN

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

1963





We are at the beginning of an era when the inroads of poverty, hunger and disease will be lessened and when men and women everywhere will have it within their power to develop their potential capacities to the maximum.

JOHN F. KENNEDY
DENVER, COLO.
October 14, 1960

Letter of TRANSMITTAL

WASHINGTON, D.C., *October 11, 1963.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

In presenting to you the report of your Commission on the Status of Women, we are mindful first of all that we transmit it bereft of our Chairman. Today is Eleanor Roosevelt's birthday. In handing you the results of work started with her active participation, we wish once again to pay tribute to a great woman. Her devotion to fuller realization of the abilities of women in all walks of life and in all countries raised the status of women everywhere in the world.

Accepting your invitation to do so, we have assessed the position of women and the functions they perform in the home, in the economy, in the society. In so vast a field, selection of points of concentration was unavoidable. In any case, certain priorities were established for us by your Executive order that brought the Commission into being.

At every stage, we have drawn upon the wisdom, experience, and technical competence of varied groups beyond the Commission's membership. Seven Committees, composed of knowledgeable men and women in addition to members of the Commission, explored in depth the following areas: education; home and community services; private employment, in particular that under Federal contracts; employment in the Federal Government; labor standards; Federal social insurance and taxes as they affect women; and the legal treatment of women in respect to civil and political rights. These Committees authorized the preparation of special papers on matters under consideration, invited presentations by advocates of various points of view and spokesmen for various organizations, and sponsored two special consultations: one examining private employment opportunities for women, attended by representatives of management, labor, and professional organizations; and one exploring new patterns in volunteer work.

The Commission itself arranged two consultations, with appropriate participation, to assess the portrayal of women by the mass media and to consider problems of Negro women.

Realizing that women's opportunities expand or contract with the economic well-being of the Nation as a whole, the Commission has been gravely troubled about the relation between population growth and economic growth over the next decades. In your state of the Union message this year, you pointed out that *32 million Americans . . . still live in the outskirts of poverty.* We note that the American population, 189 million in 1963, is estimated to reach 226 million by 1975 and 333 million by the year 2000. Americans have been marrying younger—nearly a quarter of a million boys between 14 and 19, married in their teens, are now out of school and at work. Young couples in the 1950's and 1960's have been having more children than their parents did, and lowered rates of infant mortality are enabling more of these children to reach maturity than in earlier years of this century. Unemployment among youth is a serious problem now, and unless the economy grows much more rapidly in the future than it has during the past decade, today's youngsters will feel the sharp pinch of declining ratios of new employment opportunities to persons seeking work.

Current lack of fuller employment bears specifically on many women in low-income families unable to offer their children opportunities that better-off citizens take for granted as part of the American standard of living. Substandard homes and stunted lives are individually tragic; the existence of handicapped groups retards the whole society.

Adoption of programs for more complete realization of the potentialities of all of the American people becomes increasingly difficult in times of financial stringency. A rapidly growing economy is, therefore, a prior condition of the achievement of many of the changes that we recommend.

But a society cannot claim greatness solely because a majority of its members are well housed, well clothed, well fed. In a great society, talents are evoked and realized, creative minds probe the frontiers of knowledge, expectations of excellence are widely shared. Higher quality in American life was a specific concern of this Commission both because of the potential contribution of outstanding women to it and because women in their families are transmitters of the central values of the culture.

The quality of women's exercise of their capacities and responsibilities will be higher as American institutions become more suitable to contemporary life. We have considered the basic framework of the education and training of girls and women, the counseling through which they become aware of opportunities, the conditions of their life in the home and outside it in the years of their maturity. Our signed report conveys our major recommendations.

When you announced the appointment of our Commission in December 1961, you suggested the appropriateness of recounting the story of women's progress in a free, democratic society, noting gains already achieved and advances still to be made. Appended to our report is a summary of changes in the position of American women in the course of the 20th century that we believe will give perspective to our proposals.

The last section of our document credits the intensive and sustained work of the Committees through which much of the Commission's assessment was made and that of the participants in our various consultations. Their reports and other material, providing substantiation at length for the recommendations here presented, are available to interested individuals and groups carrying on special work in particular areas.

We note with satisfaction that even while the Commission was engaged in its inquiry, a number of its recommendations were put into effect. Employment opportunities for women in Federal public service were notably widened by changes in policy and procedure following your directive to executive agencies of July 1962. Among administration measures submitted to Congress, several have contained provisions which we had endorsed or recommended, outstandingly the bill that became the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

On behalf of the Commission, Mr. President, we are honored to submit to you this unanimous report. In inviting action on its recommendations, we count on a widely varied initiative, both private and public, in all parts of the country. May we express again our appreciation of your special interest in our work and of the cooperation that we have enjoyed in the course of our deliberations from both the Congress and the Federal executive agencies. We wish also to thank the public officials of State and local governments and the many private citizens and organizations engaged in a broad range of activities who have given us generously of their time and been of great assistance in the formation of our policies.

Sincerely yours,

Esther Peterson
Executive Vice Chairman.

Richard A. Lester
Vice Chairman.

1884 - 1962

Because I anticipate success in achieving full employment and full use of America's magnificent potential, I feel confident that in the years ahead many of the remaining outmoded barriers to women's aspirations will disappear. Within a rapidly growing economy, with appropriate manpower planning, all Americans will have a better chance to develop their individual capacities, to earn a good livelihood, and to strengthen family life.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
HYDE PARK
June 15, 1962

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Report of the COMMISSION

invitation to action

This report is an invitation to action. When President John F. Kennedy appointed our Commission, he said: . . . *we have by no means done enough to strengthen family life and at the same time encourage women to make their full contribution as citizens. . . . It is appropriate at this time . . . to review recent accomplishments, and to acknowledge frankly the further steps that must be taken. This is a task for the entire Nation.*

The 96 million American women and girls include a range from infant to octogenarian, from migrant farm mother to suburban homemaker, from file clerk to research scientist, from Olympic athlete to college president. Greater development of women's potential and fuller use of their present abilities can greatly enhance the quality of American life. We have made recommendations to this end.

We invite response to our recommendations by citizen initiative exercised in many ways—through individual inventiveness, voluntary agencies, community cooperation, commercial enterprise, corporate policy, foundation support, governmental action at various levels. In making our proposals, we have had in mind the well-being of the entire society; their adoption would in many cases be of direct benefit to men as well as women.

Certain tenets have guided our thinking. Respect for the worth and dignity of every individual and conviction that every American should have a chance to achieve the best of which he—or she—is capable are basic to the meaning of both freedom and equality in this democracy. They have been, and now are, great levers for constructive social change, here and around the world. We have not hesitated to measure the present shape of things against our convictions regarding a good society and to note discrepancies between American life as it is in 1963 and as it might become through informed and intelligent action.

The human and national costs of social lag are heavy; for the most part, they are also avoidable. That is why we urge changes, many of them long overdue, in the conditions of women's opportunity in the United States.

Responsible Choice

We believe that one of the greatest freedoms of the individual in a democratic society is the freedom to choose among different life patterns. Innumerable private solutions found by different individuals in search of the good life provide society with basic strength far beyond the possibilities of a dictated plan.

Illumined by values transmitted through home and school and church, society and heritage, and informed by present and past experience, each woman must arrive at her contemporary expression of purpose, whether as a center of home and family, a participant in the community, a contributor to the economy, a creative artist or thinker or scientist, a citizen engaged in politics and public service. Part and parcel of this freedom is the obligation to assume corresponding responsibility.

Yet there are social as well as individual determinants of freedom of choice; for example, the city slum and the poor rural crossroad frustrate natural gifts and innate human powers. It is a bitter fact that for millions of men and women economic stringency all but eliminates choice among alternatives.

In a progress report to the President in August 1962, the Commission's Chairman, Eleanor Roosevelt, said: *A rapidly rising national output is the strongest weapon against substandard jobs, poverty-stricken homes, and barren lives.*

In the same vein, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has warned: *There is not going to be much in the way of expanding opportunities for women unless we are ready and able to assure the jobs which the economy as a whole requires.*

Growth and Opportunity

Unless the economy grows at a substantially faster rate than at present, oncoming generations will not find work commensurate with their skills. The number of new entrants of all ages into the labor force was about 2 million a year in 1960. By 1970, it will be 3 million.

Much of the work offered by a modern economy demands types of skill requiring levels of education that only a nation with abundant resources can supply; if such skills, when acquired, are not used because the economy is lagging, the resulting human frustrations and material waste are very costly indeed.

Economic expansion is of particular significance to women. One of the ironies of history is that war has brought American women their greatest economic opportunities. In establishing this Commission, the President noted: *In every period of national emergency, women have served with distinction in widely varied capacities but thereafter have been subject to treatment as a marginal group whose skills have been inadequately utilized.*

Comparable opportunity—and far more varied choice—could be provided by full employment in a period without war.

The Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that between 1958 and 1962 the country's productive capacity exceeded its actual output by some $170 billion, or almost $1,000 per person in the United States. Had this potential been realized, lower rates of unemployment and an impressive supply of additional goods and services would have contributed to national well-being. The currently unused resources of the American economy include much work that could be done by women.

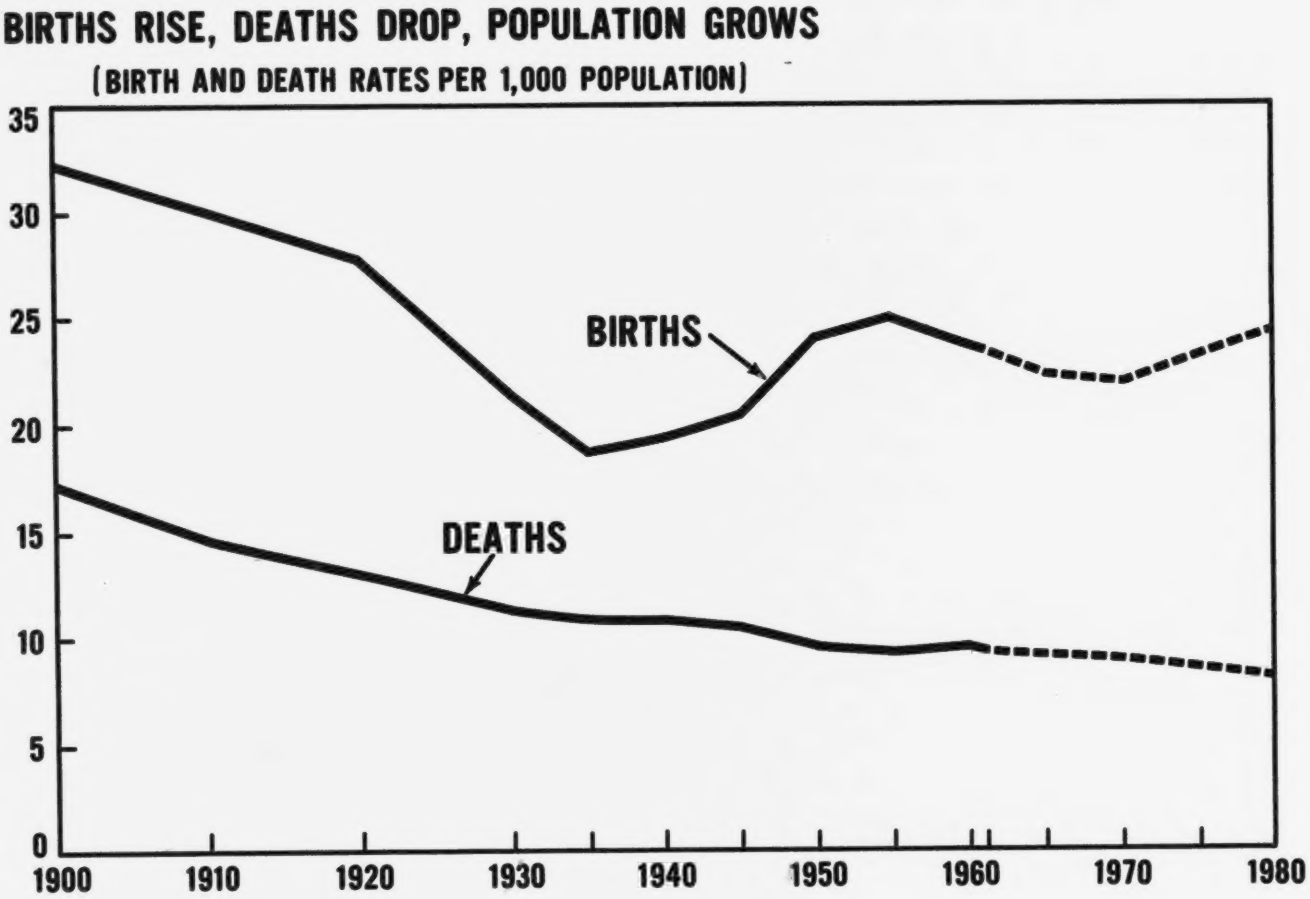


Chart 1. For source, see p. 72.

Higher Expectations

But while freedom of choice for many American women, as for men, is limited by economic considerations, one of the most pervasive limitations is the social climate in which women choose what they prepare themselves to do. Too many plans recommended to young women reaching maturity are only partially suited to the second half of the 20th century. Such advice is correspondingly confusing to them.

Even the role most generally approved by counselors, parents, and friends—the making of a home, the rearing of children, and the transmission to them in their earliest years of the values of the American heritage—is frequently presented as it is thought to have been in an earlier and simpler society. Women's ancient function of providing love and nurture stands. But for entry into modern life, today's children need a preparation far more diversified than that of their predecessors.

Similarly, women's participation in such traditional occupations as teaching, nursing, and social work is generally approved, with current shortages underscoring the Nation's need for such personnel. But means for keeping up to date the skills of women who continue in such professions are few. So, too, are those for bringing up to date the skills of women who withdraw in order to raise families but return after their families are grown.

Commendation of women's entry into certain other occupations is less general, even though some of them are equally in need of trained people. Girls hearing that most women find mathematics and science difficult, or that engineering and architecture are unusual occupations for a woman, are not led to test their interest by activity in these fields.

Because too little is expected of them, many girls who graduate from high school intellectually able to do good college work do not go to college. Both they as individuals and the Nation as a society are thereby made losers.

The subtle limitations imposed by custom are, upon occasion, reinforced by specific barriers. In the course of the 20th century many bars against women that were firmly in place in 1900 have been lowered or dropped. But certain restrictions remain.

Discriminations and Disadvantages

Some of these discriminatory provisions are contained in the common law. Some are written into statute. Some are upheld by court decisions. Others take the form of practices of industrial, labor, professional, or governmental organizations that discriminate against women in apprenticeship, training, hiring, wages, and promotion. We have identified a number of outmoded and prejudicial attitudes and practices.

Throughout its deliberations, the Commission has kept in mind certain women who have special disadvantages. Among heads of families in the United States, 1 in 10 is a woman. At least half of them are carrying responsibility for both earning the family's living and making the family's home. Their problems are correspondingly greater; their resources are usually less.

Seven million nonwhite women and girls belong to minority racial groups. Discrimination based on color is morally wrong and a source of national weakness. Such discrimination currently places an oppressive dual burden on millions of Negro women. The consultation held by the Commission on the situation of Negro women emphasized that in too many families lack of opportunity for men as well as women, linked to racial discrimination, has forced the women to assume too large a share of the family responsibility. Such women are twice as likely as other women to have to seek employment while they have preschool children at home; they are just beginning to gain entrance to the expanding fields of clerical and commercial employment; except for the few who can qualify as teachers or other professionals, they are forced into low-paid service occupations.

Hundreds of thousands of other women face somewhat similar situations: American Indians, for instance; and Spanish-Americans, many of whom live in urban centers but are new to urban life and burdened with language problems.

While there are highly skilled members of all of these groups, in many of the families of these women the unbroken cycle of deprivation and retardation repeats itself from generation to generation, compounding its individual cost in human indignity and unhappiness and its social cost in incapacity and delinquency. This cycle must be broken, swiftly and at as many points as possible. The Commission strongly urges that in the carrying out of its recommendations, special attention be given to difficulties that are wholly or largely the products of this kind of discrimination.

FAMILY INCOMES VARY BY COLOR, REGION, MEMBERS WORKING

(MEDIAN INCOME, 1961)

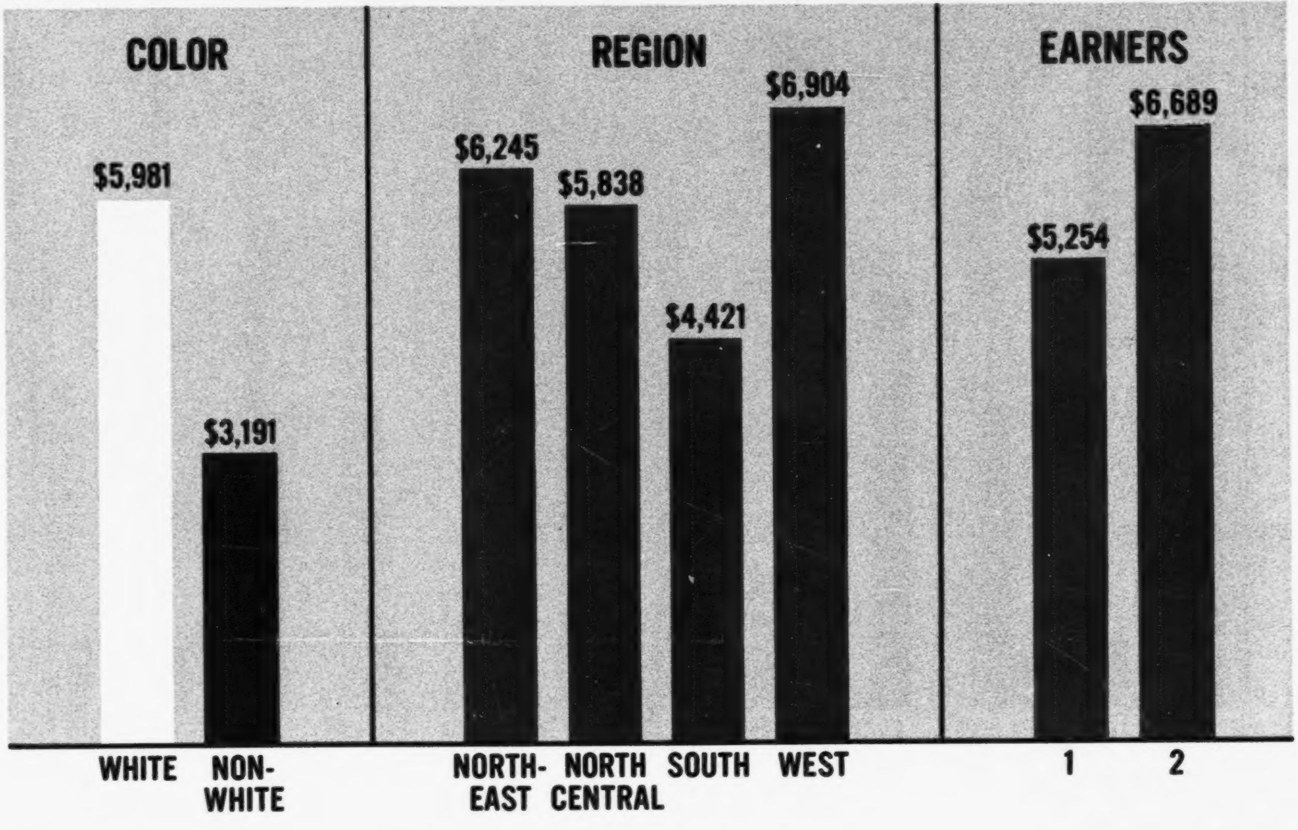


Chart 2. For source, see p. 72.

Lengthening Life Spans

The Commission has also been impressed with the extent to which lengthening life spans are causing changes in women's occupations and preoccupations from decade to decade of their adult experience. The life expectancy of a girl baby is now 73 years; it was 48 years in 1900. In comparison with her own grandmother, today's young woman has a quarter century of additional life with abundant new choices to plan for. It is essential that the counseling of girls enable them to foresee the later as well as the earlier phases of their adulthood.

Eight out of ten women are in paid employment outside the home at some time during their lives, and many of these, and others as well, engage in unpaid work as volunteers.

The population contains 13 million single girls and women 14 and over. A 20-year-old girl, if she remains single, will spend some 40 years in the labor

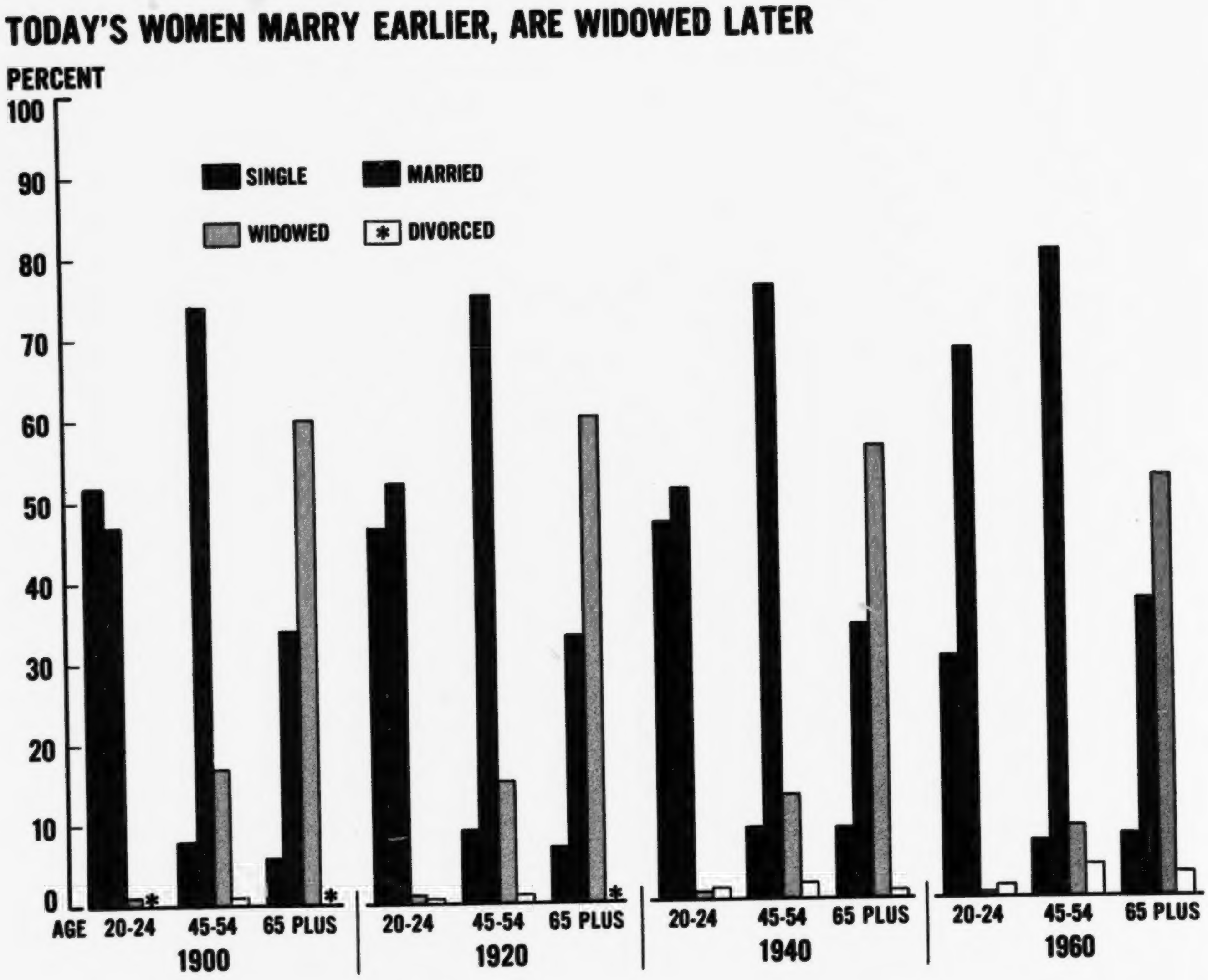


Chart 3. For source, see p. 72.

force. If after working for a few years, she marries and has a family, and then goes back into the labor force at 30, she is likely to work for some 23 more years. Particularly during the years when her children are in school but have not yet left home permanently, the work she seeks is apt to be part time. Inflexibility with regard to part-time employment in most current hiring systems, alike in government and in private enterprise, excludes the use of much able and available trained womanpower; practices should be altered to permit it.

Women's greater longevity as compared with men makes them the predominant group in the final age brackets. There are almost 800,000 more women than men 75 and over. The number of such women grew from slightly over 2 million in 1950 to more than 3 million in 1960. To most, this is a period of economic dependency which often ends in a need for terminal care.

Areas of Special Attention

With such facts in view, the Commission has considered developments in American institutions which might usefully be coupled to the long series of historic changes that have increased women's opportunities and security. We were directed to review progress and make recommendations as needed for constructive action in six areas:

- ▲ Employment policies and practices, including those on wages, under Federal contracts.
- ▲ Federal social insurance and tax laws as they affect the net earnings and other income of women.
- ▲ Federal and State labor laws dealing with such matters as hours, nightwork, and wages, to determine whether they are accomplishing the purposes for which they were established and whether they should be adapted to changing technological, economic, and social conditions.
- ▲ Differences in legal treatment of men and women in regard to political and civil rights, property rights, and family relations.
- ▲ New and expanded services that may be required for women as wives, mothers, and workers, including education, counseling, training, home services, and arrangements for care of children during the working day.
- ▲ The employment policies and practices of the Government of the United States with reference to additional affirmative steps which should be taken through legislation, executive, or administrative action to assure nondiscrimination on the basis of sex and to enhance constructive employment opportunities for women.

As our work progressed, we became convinced that greater public understanding of the value of continuing education for all mature Americans is perhaps the highest priority item on the American agenda. And it is one of particular importance to women.

In the past, Americans have regarded education as something for the young. It is true that over recent decades the age at which a person's education was generally held to be completed has moved up. When a majority of the population went to work at 14, much used to be made of closing exercises for the eighth grade. Such ceremonies are now commonly reserved for high school graduation; to a rising proportion of the population, commencement means the award of college diplomas. But even so, education continues to be thought of as a preparation for life that ends when adult life begins. Recognition of the necessity of education during adult life has still to be established.

Yet today, abilities must be constantly sharpened, knowledge and skills kept up to date. Continuing opportunities to do this must be widely available and broad enough to include both the person who did not finish elementary school and the highly gifted specialist who must follow the frontiers of learning as they move; both the person whose skill has been superseded by automation and the person (usually a woman) who has been out of the labor market for a time but can, with preparation, go back in and make effective use of her talents. Formal and informal adult education can enable women of all ages both to fit themselves for what they do next and to experience the satisfactions that come from learning for its own sake. We start, therefore, with our recommendations in the field of education.

education and counseling

The Commission has given great weight to educational needs of mature women, but nothing it can recommend to meet the special needs of women is of greater importance than improvement in the quality of early education available to all of the Nation's youth. Good basic instruction—adequate facilities and able, dedicated teachers—must be within the reach of all children from the time they start school.

We wholeheartedly advocate measures, undertaken by localities, by States, and, when needed, by the Federal Congress, to provide financial support for the improvement of primary, secondary, and higher education through better plant and equipment, teacher training, increased salaries for teachers, experiment and research on curricula and teaching methods, adequate counseling, and better vocational programs.

We also support expansion, in numbers and scope, of private, Federal, and other public scholarship and loan programs.

But improvement in American education as it has been in the past is not enough. Its framework must be enlarged to include adult education as an integral part of the structure.

In its widest context, adult education is now a major undertaking, with 30 to 40 million individuals involved. Between 2½ and 3 million adults, with some 82,000 teachers and administrators, take courses in public schools. But it is too often thought of as a diversion on the fringes of adult life. So far, neither in monetary allocations nor in quality of instruction have formal educational institutions, foundations, or indeed the individuals concerned caused it to receive the attention it merits in a rapidly moving industrial society.

The new range of opportunities must be diversified, comprehensive, and flexible; it must have counseling at its center. In an evolving culture, education and vocation are inextricably combined. Each contributes to the other to an extent only slowly becoming understood. The proportion of time that an individual gives to education and to other activities at any given moment depends on many factors, among them age, capacity, and current responsibilities. But flexible opportunities to pursue lines of interest to higher levels, or to branch out into new lines, should be at hand.

Education for the Mature Woman

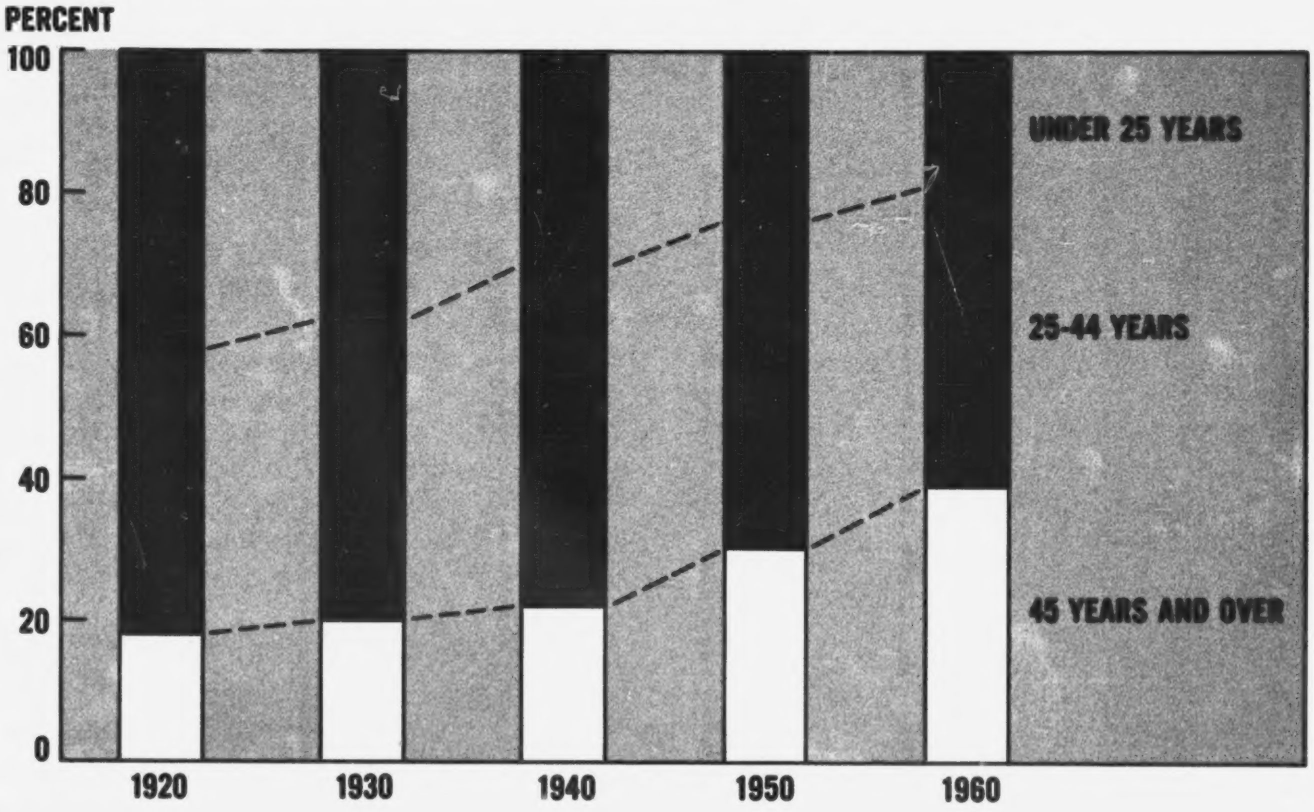
Men and women are equally in need of continuing education, but at present women's opportunities are more limited than men's. In part, this is because neither the substantial arrangements for advanced training provided by businesses for their executives nor the educational and training programs of the armed services are open to many women. In part, it is because counseling and training are of particular importance at times when new choices are likely to be made, and women's lives are less likely than men's to follow continuous patterns.

The woman who marries and is raising a family has urgent educational needs that have so far been badly neglected. During her intensive homemaking years, she should be encouraged to prepare for at least three decades of life after 40 when she will be relatively free to use her abilities and will wish to use them as constructively and as interestingly as possible. She also needs to continue her education in one form or another in order to provide the assistance, companionship, and stimulation needed by her husband and by her children as they develop.

The education required by mature women is at all levels. While illiteracy and near-illiteracy grow less year by year, almost 4 million adult women, alive in 1960, had had less than 5 years of schooling. In a society in which literacy is essential, they cannot follow a simple written instruction or fill out a simple form. In a time when automation is displacing workers far more qualified than they, their chances in the job market are slim indeed. Those with young children cannot help prepare them adequately for entry into today's world.

Similarly, over 11½ million adult women have started but failed to finish high school; less than half of all women 25 and over are high school graduates. Completion of high school would lift many out of the congested competition for declining jobs in unskilled employment.

Most single women work for a large part of their lives. Many young widows and married women from low-income families work outside the home even when they have young children. In 1963, more than half of all women in the 45- to 54-year age bracket were in paid employment. In the schools and out of the schools, a realistic, many sided vocational program can reduce the tendency for women returning to the labor market, or entering it for the first time, to take the



PERCENT OF WOMEN WORKERS OVER 45 IS RISING

Chart 4. For source, see p. 72.

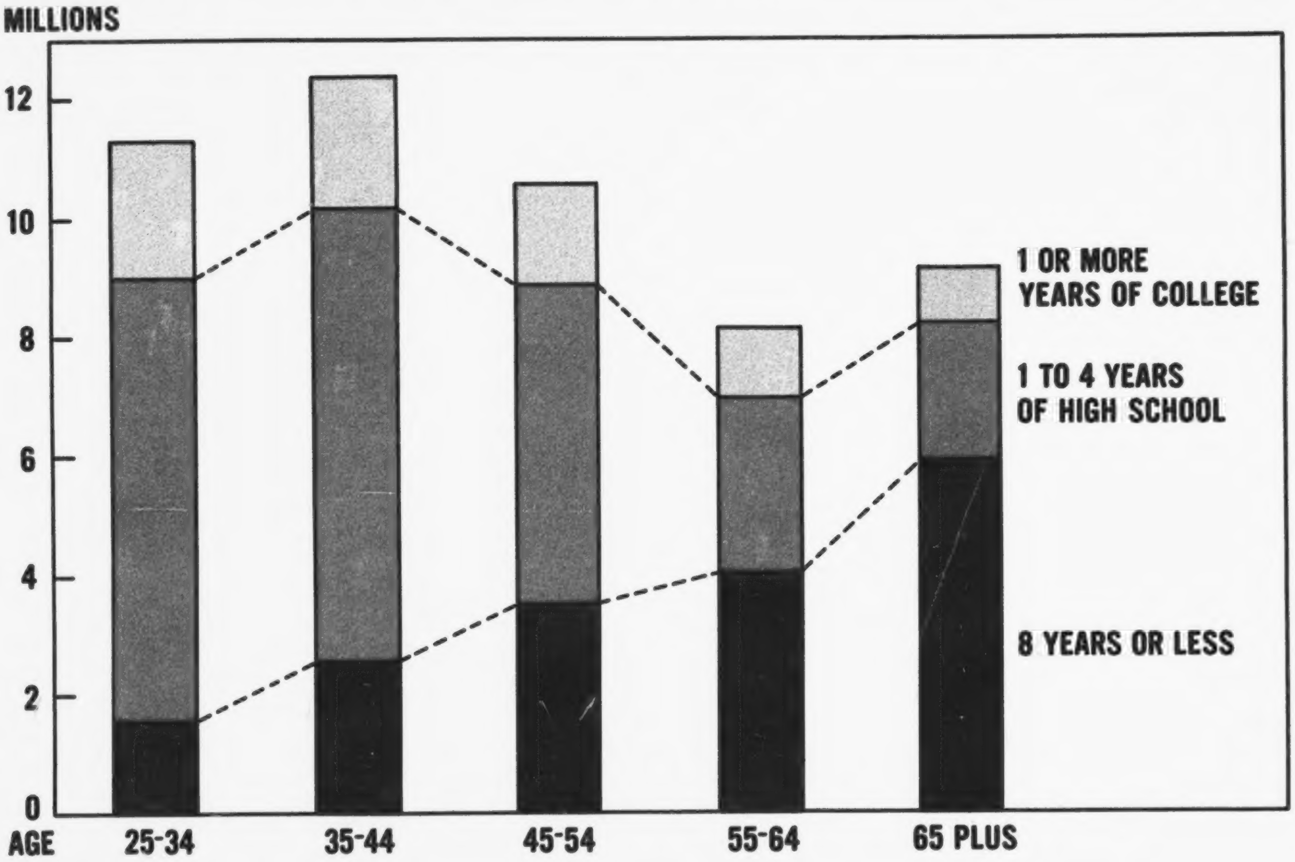
first job that comes along and remain in it. Their capabilities may be well above the level of competence which this job requires. Technical training for clerical, manual, and other skills is especially important to women of minority groups. During their school years they were not trained for fields that are now being opened to them.

Until recently, up to the college level, more young women than young men have stayed in school: in 1962, the median number of years of school completed was 12 for women as against 11.6 for men. Even in 1962, 872,000 in the Nation's high school graduating classes were boys as against 966,000 girls.

But once the college level is reached, the girls begin to fall behind. The 437,000 women who enrolled in college in 1962 constituted only about 42 percent of the entering class. Women are earning only 1 in 3 of the B.A.'s and M.A.'s awarded by American institutions of higher learning, and only 1 in 10 of the Ph. D.'s. Today's ratios, moreover, represent a loss of ground as compared with the 1930's, when 2 out of 5 B.A.'s and M.A.'s and 1 out of 7 Ph. D.'s were earned by women.

Presentation of higher education in the form in which women with family responsibilities can take advantage of it quite clearly requires new adaptations.

To be usable by the large numbers of young women who marry in their late



WOMEN AT ALL AGES NEED MORE EDUCATION

Chart 5. For source, see p. 72.

teens and early twenties, and by the mature woman in general, continuing education must be geographically available where the woman is. If she breaks away from school or college to marry, she is less likely to return after a gap than if practicable means of continued study are immediately at hand. Higher education at a local junior college offers an immediate opportunity. Community colleges are now being founded at the rate of one every two weeks. Restyled correspondence courses and programed learning can be pursued at home. By 1971, the National Educational Television Network is expected to provide credit-carrying courses equivalent to about half an undergraduate program.

The importance of vocational training to parallel academic courses is attested by the fact that increasing numbers of women are going to college and that almost 70 percent of women college graduates work for part of the second half of their adult lives. Many high schools offer vocational courses suitable for use by their graduates. Four-fifths of the larger junior and community colleges provide technical training under the National Defense Education Act. The opportunity to attain advanced skills to match national scarcities is clear from the very names of the courses: electronics, plastics, nucleonics.

For mature women using educational facilities at any level, part-time study is a likely pattern. Its legitimacy must be recognized both by institutions of higher education in accepting plans of study projected on this basis and by academic and other bodies determining eligibility for fellowships, scholarships, and loans.

Many current rigidities in regard to admission, academic prerequisites, residence, and the like, as well as scheduling, will have to yield to greater flexibility. For instance, proficiency testing should be widely available as a means of obtaining credit for knowledge acquired outside regular academic courses.

Means of acquiring or continuing education must be available to every adult at whatever point he or she broke off traditional formal schooling. The structure of adult education must be drastically revised. It must provide practicable and accessible opportunities, developed with regard for the needs of women, to complete elementary and secondary school and to continue education beyond high school. Vocational training, adapted to the Nation's growing requirement for skilled and highly educated manpower, should be included at all of these educational levels. Where needed and appropriate, financial support should be provided by local, State, and Federal governments and by private groups and foundations.

Existing studies of education take too little account of sex differences—averages that include performance by men and women often obscure the facts about both. Research agencies should be encouraged to analyze more data by sex. Too little is known about factors affecting motivation in girls, about the effects of economic, ethnic, religious, and regional backgrounds on their aspirations and their learning processes. Much thinking is now being done about the need to teach problem-solving ability and broadly based fundamentals that will survive technological change. Such training has special relevance for married women, who can be expected to interrupt and then resume a field of study or a job.

We believe that a Federal program should be established to survey, summarize, and disseminate research and statistics on women's education, fostering inclusion in new studies of separate data on males and females.

Counseling for Choice

In a democracy offering broad and ever-changing choices, where ultimate decisions are made by individuals, skilled counseling becomes an inseparable part of education. Properly timed awareness of alternatives can be decisive in securing a student's maximum use of abilities without great waste of human and material resources.

Because of differences in life patterns of women as contrasted with men, the counseling of girls and women is a specialized form of the counseling profession. From infancy, roles held up to girls deflect talents into narrow channels. Among women of all levels of skill there is need for encouragement to develop broader ranges of aptitudes and carry them into higher education. Imaginative counseling can lift aspirations beyond stubbornly persistent assumptions about "women's roles" and "women's interests" and result in choices that have inner authenticity for their makers.

Individuals should be helped to find

out what alternatives exist, aided to reach judgments about them, and encouraged to make plans and take appropriate steps to execute them.

Lack of parental stimulation often conditions grade school youngsters from low-income families to settle for less education than their abilities warrant even before they reach high school. Daughters of families that are well able to pay for higher education too often see no reason for going as far as they could. In both cases, counselors can supply missing motivation.

Negro girls and women especially can be helped by counselors who are able to stimulate confidence to enter new fields and are aware of changing trends in marketable skills and newly opening job opportunities.

With imaginative guidance, employed women approaching retirement and mature women with grown families can find uses for their new leisure that are rewarding alike to them and to their communities.

Expanded counseling facilities have recently been urged by two Presidential

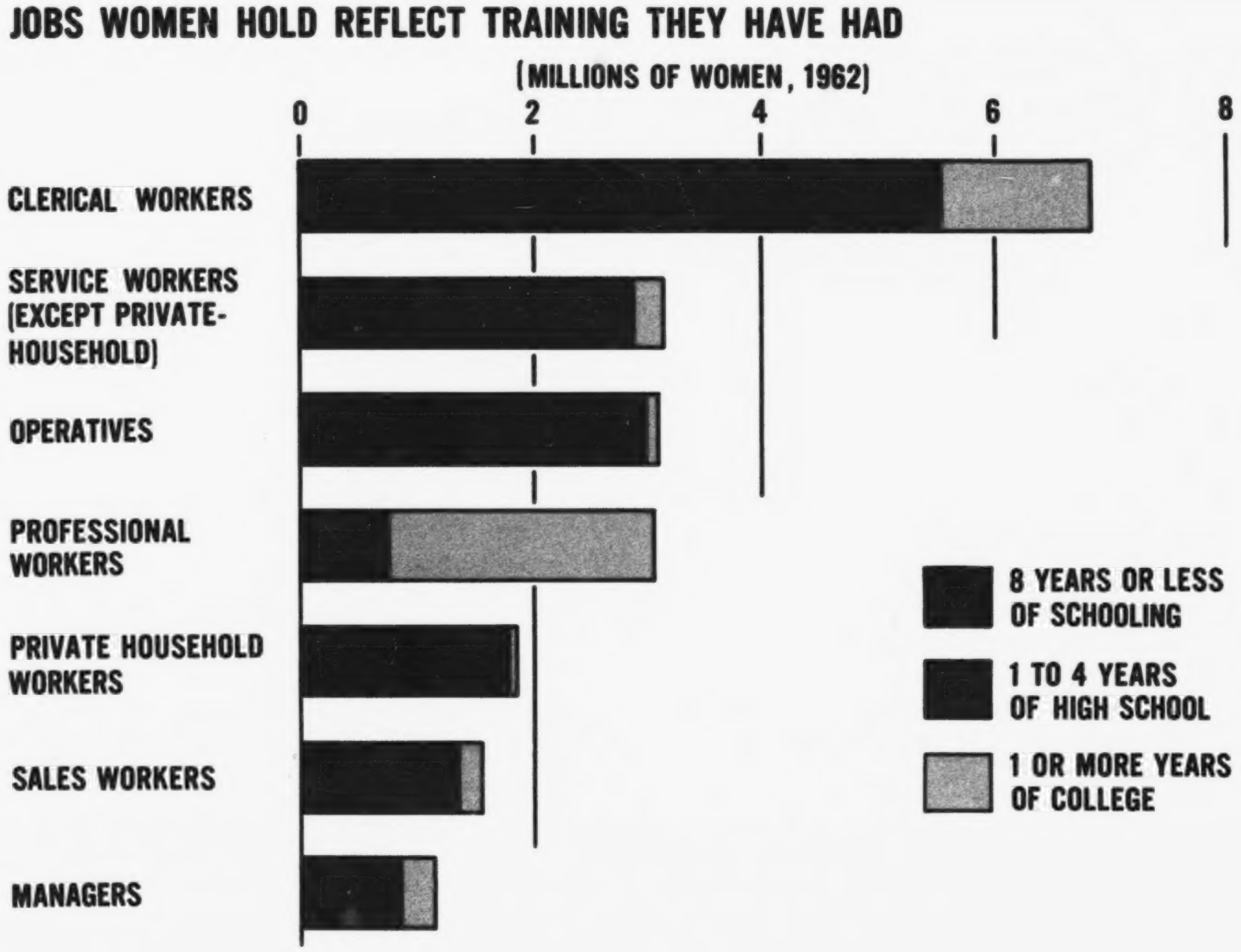


Chart 6. For source, see p. 72.

advisory groups—the President's Committee on Youth Employment and the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education. The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 provided training for secondary school guidance counselors and grants to the States for guidance, counseling, and testing services for secondary school students. Since enactment of this law, some 12,000 counselors have received training. The proposed National Education Improvement Act would extend and expand the NDEA guidance services. We regard such expansion as urgent.

Public and private schools and colleges increasingly assign full-time staff as counselors. In addition, the public employment offices counsel two-thirds of each year's high school seniors who seek employment. They also counsel some three-quarters of a million women jobseekers annually.

Yet, in quantity as well as quality, counseling is at present wholly inadequate. The recommended ratio of full-time guidance staff to secondary school students is 1 to 300; the actual ratio is 1 to 550, with great variation among regions and shortages greatest in low-income areas. Many counselors do not meet recommended standards of either the U.S. Employment Service or the professional associations in the field. Far too few have had supervised practice in counseling women. Counseling based on obsolete assumptions is routine at best; at worst, it is dangerous.

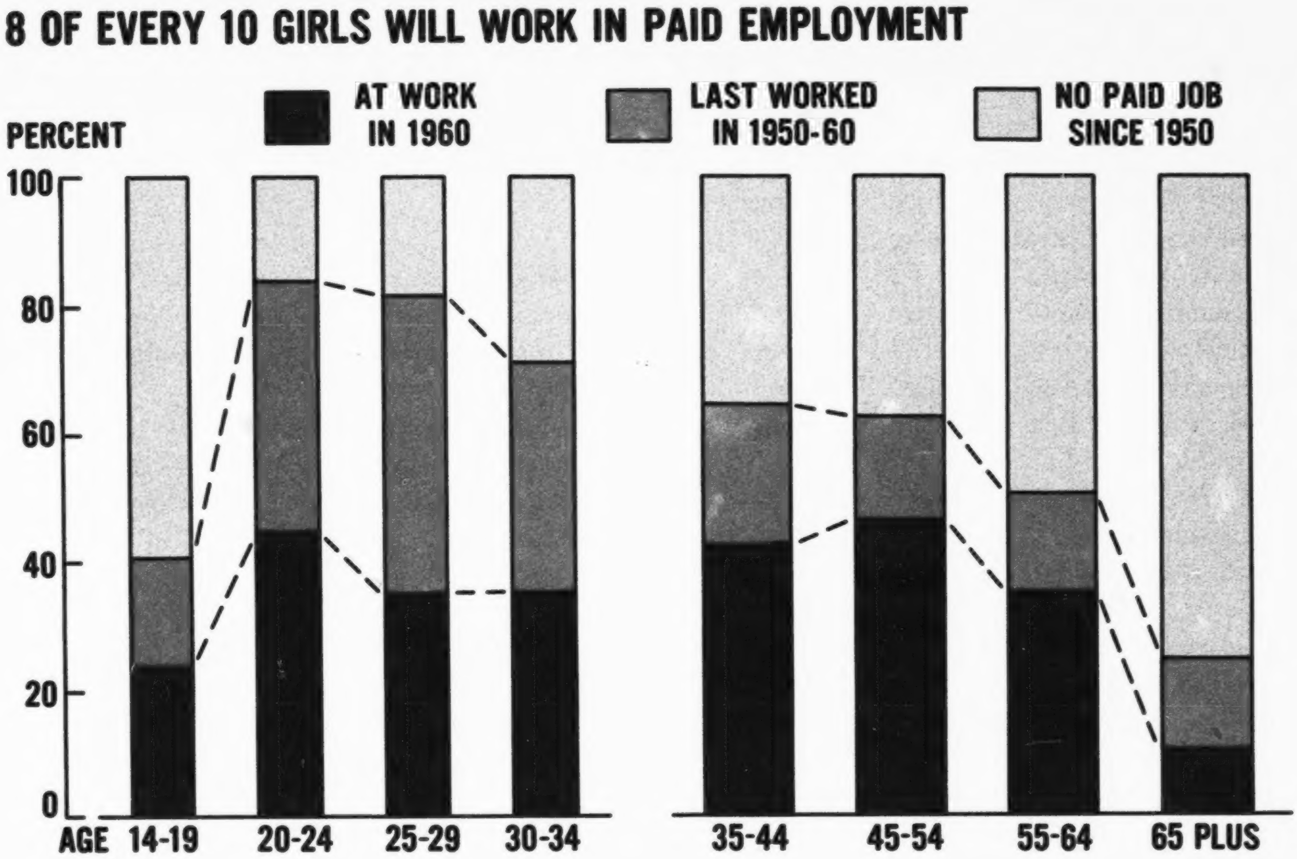
With up-to-date guidance for young and old accepted as a regular part of the educational framework, programs for raising the competence of counselors should not be looked on as emergency measures. Cooperative relationships linking the public employment service, educational institutions, and employers are essential as opportunities shift and adult education increases.

Directories of existing vocational and educational counseling facilities in communities and States and occupational literature geared to the age groups using it can call attention to the rapidly changing requirements for jobs and to opportunities for intellectual development and maintenance of professional ability.

In a democracy offering broad and ever-changing choices, where ultimate decisions are made by individuals, skilled counseling is an essential part of education. Public and private agencies should join in strengthening counseling resources. States and school districts should raise their standards for State employment service counselors and school guidance counselors. Institutions offering counseling education should provide both course content and ample supervised experience in the counseling of females as well as males, adults as well as adolescents.

Public and private-nonprofit employment counseling organizations should be adequately staffed to provide comprehensive and imaginative counseling services to:

- ▲ High school girls, not only as seniors but in their earlier years, and women engaged in higher education and continuing education;
- ▲ Women workers either entering the labor market, displaced from their jobs by economic changes, staying in on a part-time basis, or reentering;
- ▲ Women wishing to make constructive use of their leisure, whether outside working hours, at times of lessened home responsibilities, or after retirement.



8 OF EVERY 10 GIRLS WILL WORK IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

Chart 7. For source, see p. 72.

Preparation for Family Life

Widening the choices for women beyond their doorstep does not imply neglect of their education for responsibilities in the home. Modern family life is demanding, and most of the time and attention given to it comes from women. At various stages, girls and women of all economic backgrounds should receive education in respect to physical and mental health, child care and development, human relations within the family.

The teaching of home management should treat the subject with breadth that includes not only nutrition, textiles and clothing, housing and furnishings, but also the handling of family finances, the purchase of consumer goods, the uses of family leisure, and the relation of individuals and families to society.

Too little is currently known about effective instruction in homemaking skills, particularly about its timing. Neither home economics nor health education can be taught once and for all or at only one level; these subjects gain relevance at the time when a girl or woman finds them an answer to a felt need. For many high school youngsters, discussions on management of money, selection of food and clothing, and care of younger brothers and sisters can start from responsibilities that they already exercise at home.

Girls who drop out of school are likely to do so because they must assume responsibilities beyond their years either in the homes from which they come or in homes of their own. Schoolage mothers who drop out because of pregnancy are an extreme case of those for whom special instruction is necessary.

Experiments in schools, ranging all the way from the elementary grades through junior college, and by private organizations working with youth and young married couples are developing new and effective patterns. The extent to which education for family responsibility can best be done outside of school through media such as television needs further exploration.

In the last years of high school, many students are looking forward to marriage in the near future. Courses in the social and economic responsibilities involved in establishing a home are sometimes advantageously studied by boys and girls together, contributing to their knowledge of each other's interests and concerns. Even women's colleges have given remarkably little serious thought to the better preparation of their students for the homemaking most of them will do.

Women should have opportunity for education about sex and human reproduction in the context of education for family responsibility.

The education of girls and women for their responsibilities in home and community should be thoroughly reexamined with a view to discovering more effective approaches, with experimentation in content and timing, and under auspices including school systems, private organizations, and the mass media.

home and community

The Commission recognizes the fundamental responsibility of mothers and homemakers and society's stake in strong family life. Demands upon women in the economic world, the community, and the home mean that women often simultaneously carry on several different kinds of activity. If the family is to continue to be the core institution of society as it has been for many centuries, new and expanded community services are necessary. Women can do a far more effective job as mothers and homemakers when communities provide appropriate resources and when they know how to use such resources for health, education, safety, recreation, child care, and counseling.

Of the 68 million women and girls 14 years and over in the United States today, 44 million are married and keeping house. Few 20th-century changes have been more striking than those in the composition of American households.

Not so long ago, and not only in rural areas, family tasks were shared by members of two or more generations—by grandmothers, mothers or mothers-in-law, and maiden aunts, as well as by women with young children. Sisters and sisters-in-law often lived under the same roof or closeby.

Now, though fathers often take a larger share in the performance of household tasks than they used to and the older children help in many ways, in most families the mother is the only grown person present to assume day-to-day responsibility in the home. And the family is more than likely to be an anonymous newcomer among strange neighbors in an urban or suburban setting. These simultaneous changes in the composition of families and communities have altered the very nature of family life.

Child Care and Family Services

Child care services are needed in all communities, for children of all kinds of families who may require day care, afterschool care, or intermittent care. In putting major emphasis on this need, the Commission affirms that child care facilities are essential for women in many different circumstances, whether they work outside the home or not. It is regrettable when women with children are forced by economic necessity or by the regulations of welfare agencies to 'seek employment while their children are young. On the other hand, those who decide to work should have child care services available.

The gross inadequacy of present child care facilities is apparent. Across the country, licensed day care is available to some 185,000 children only. In nearly half a million families with children under 6 years, the mother is frequently the sole support. There are 117,000 families with children under 6 with only a father in the home. Almost 3 million mothers of children under 6 work outside the home although there is a husband present. Other mothers, though not at work, may be ill, living in overcrowded slum conditions with no play opportunities for children, responsible for mentally retarded or emotionally handicapped children, or confronting family crises. Migrant families have no fixed homes.

In the absence of adequate child care facilities, many of these mothers are forced to resort to makeshift arrangements or to leave their children without care. A 1958 survey disclosed no less than 400,000 children under 12 whose mothers worked full time and for whose supervision no arrangements whatsoever had been made. Suitable afterschool supervision is especially crucial for children whom discrimination in housing forces into crowded neighborhoods.

Plans for housing developments, community centers, urban renewal projects, and migratory labor camps should provide space for child care centers under licensing procedures insuring adequate standards.

Localities should institute afterschool and vacation activities, in properly supervised places, for schoolage children whose mothers must be away from home during hours when children are not in school.

Failure to assure such services reflects primarily a lack of community awareness of the realities of modern life. Recent Federal legislation offering assistance to communities establishing day care is a first step in raising its provision to the level of national policy. As a number of localities have discovered, child care can be provided in many ways as long as proper standards are assured: cooperatively by groups of parents; by public or private agencies with fees on a sliding

MANY MOTHERS, ESPECIALLY NEGROES, MUST WORK

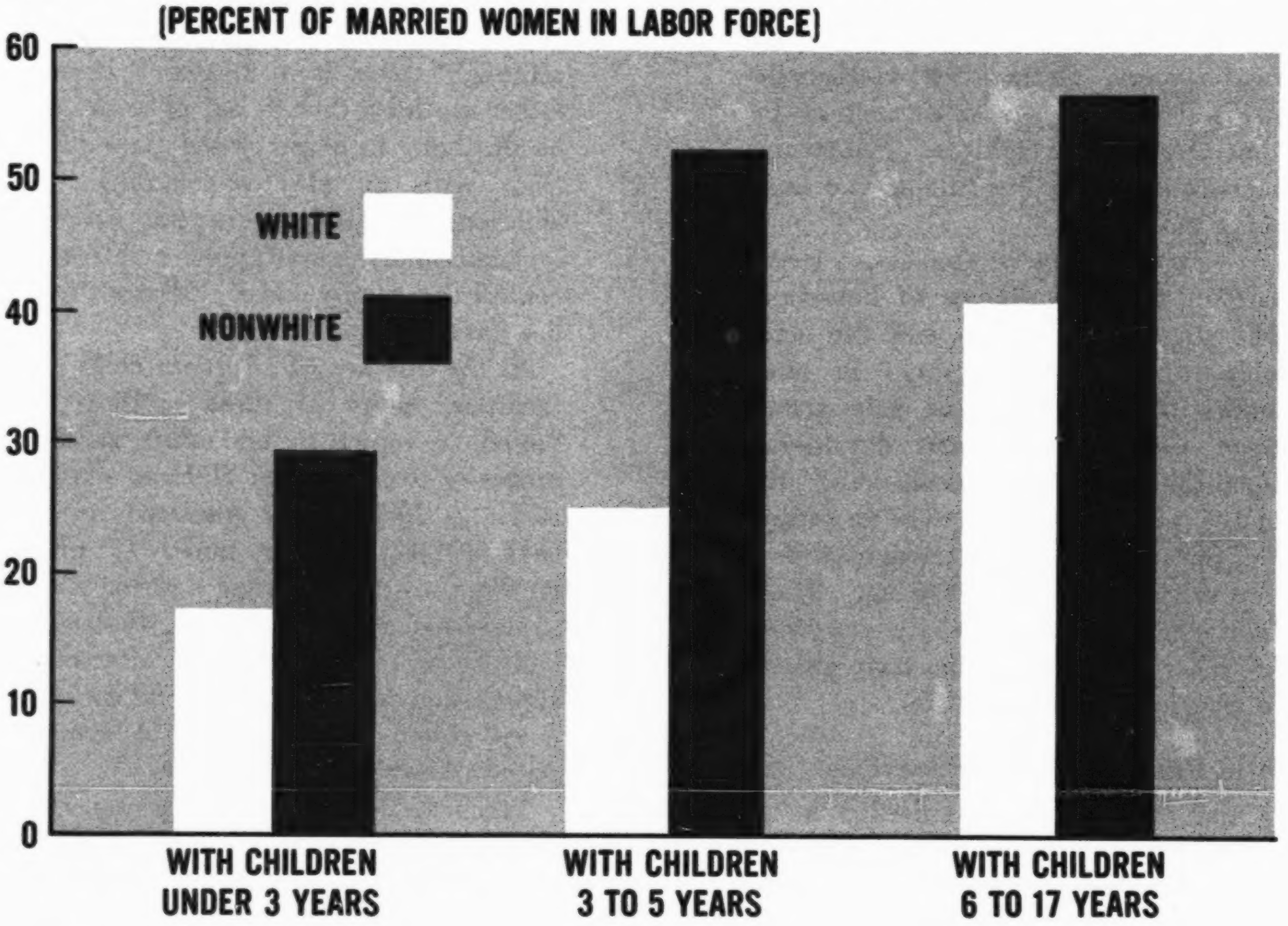


Chart 8. For source, see p. 72.

scale according to ability to pay; or as a public undertaking.

Where group programs serve children from a cross section of a city, they provide training grounds for democratic social development. Their educational possibilities range from preparing underprivileged children for school, to providing constructive activities for normal youngsters, to offering especially gifted children additional means of development.

For the benefit of children, mothers, and society, child care services should be available for children of families at all economic levels. Proper standards of child care must be maintained, whether services are in homes or in centers. Costs should be met by fees scaled to parents' ability to pay, contributions from voluntary agencies, and public appropriations.

Since passage of the Revenue Act of 1954, the financing of child care by working mothers has been aided by the allowance of deductions from Federal income tax liability to help cover care of children and disabled dependents of women workers. Such deductions have been available to couples with the joint income of man and wife not exceeding $5,100 a year.

Advantage from this act still accrues to some families of moderate income and to low-income families, but the limit above which deductions are not allowed has become unrealistic. In 1954, the median income of families with husband working and wife in the labor force was approximately $5,336; by 1961, it had risen to $7,188. The majority of working couples are therefore ineligible for deductions.

In calculating tax deductions for child care, moreover, no account has been taken of the number of children that must be cared for.

Tax deductions for child care expenses of working mothers should be kept commensurate with the median income of couples when both

TOO MANY CHILDREN LACK GOOD DAY CARE

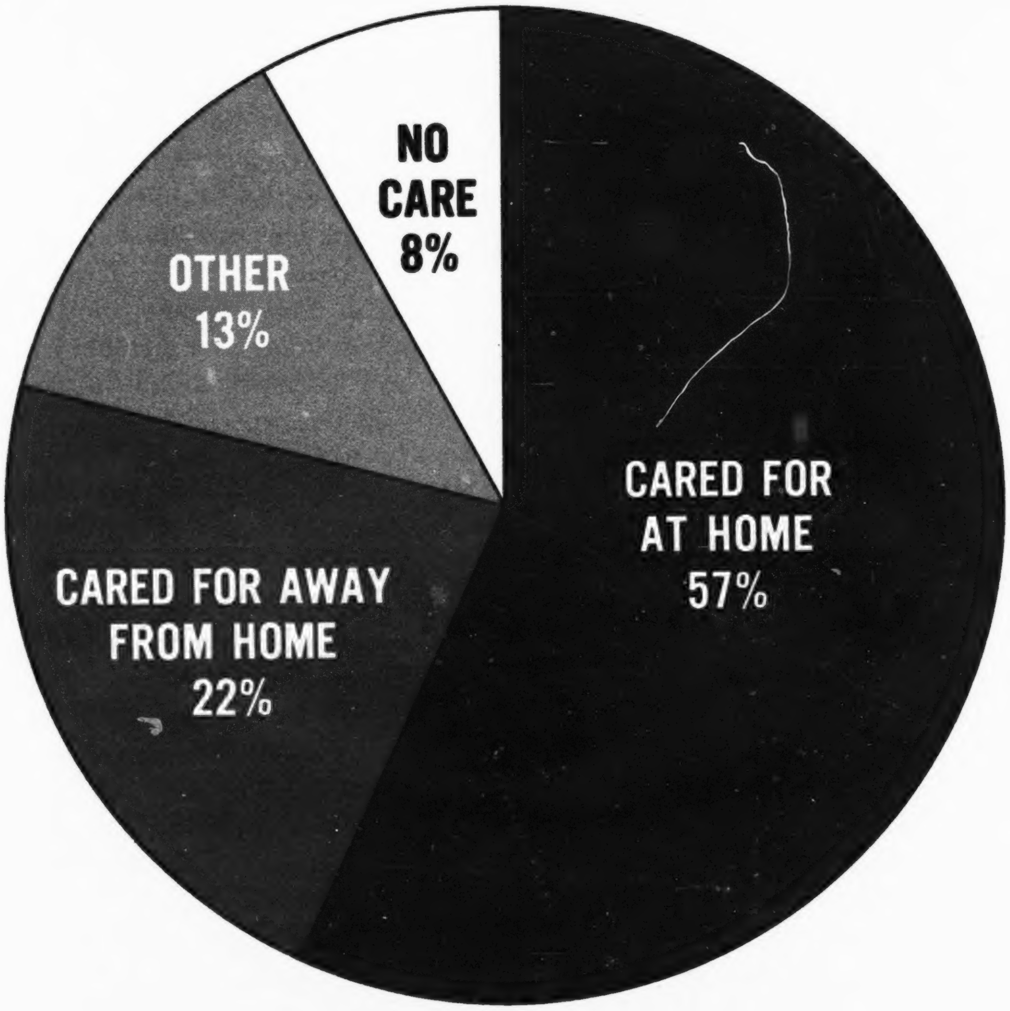


Chart 9. For source, see p. 72.

husband and wife are engaged in substantial employment. The present limitation on their joint income, above which deductions are not allowable, should be raised. Additional deductions, of lesser amounts, should be allowed for children beyond the first. The 11-year age limit for child care deductions should be raised.

No deduction has been allowed for child care in families where the wife is incapacitated. An allowance should be permitted immediately in cases where the wife is in an institution; study should be given to the feasibility of extending the deduction to cases where an incapacitated wife is not institutionalized.

The emphasis which we place on child care does not mean that we are unaware of the importance of other services to strengthen family life. Population growth, with increasing proportions of very young and very old; urbanization; and mobility resulting in separation from traditional family resources are intensifying pressures on many services already inadequate in scope, variety, and quality.

Family counseling by professionally trained social workers should be available to families disrupted by separation and desertion, unmarried parents, children who lack protection or have special problems, and young people who need guidance to prevent delinquency. Contact with resources that may be available in the community can often resolve problems menacing the stability or security of such persons and aid in their rehabilitation. Among very low income families and those without income, skilled services can help develop potential for self-support, establishing self-respect and capacity to act as self-directing and useful citizens.

In most communities, skilled homemakers available to assume responsibility in times of family emergency or stress are very rare. Yet the services of a trained and able woman, professional or volunteer, to keep a home running for an interim period can be the deciding factor preventing the disintegration of a family. Such a resource should be at hand when mothers are incapacitated or require emergency short-term child care, or when the presence of a skilled person for an interval can help teach mothers who have difficulty in managing their homes and children how to do their homemaking job effectively.

Many women live alone beyond the age at which they can manage the mechanics of a household. For them, for chronically ill or disabled persons, for convalescents coming out of general or mental hospitals, the availability of a visiting nurse or home nursing, home-delivered meals, or homemaker services, often required only on a part-time basis, can mean the difference between continued life at home as a member of a community and removal to an institution. Counseling on special problems—social, legal, or financial as well as health—is frequently needed by older persons.

Family services under public and private auspices to help families avoid or overcome breakdown or dependency and establish a soundly based homelife, and professionally supervised homemaker services to meet emergency or other special needs should be strengthened, extended, or established where lacking.

The provision of preventive, curative, and rehabilitative health services is a community responsibility which should be planned on a communitywide basis, including out-of-hospital as well as hospital programs. Many women are unaware of existing facilitites for prenatal, infant, and preschool services and adult preventive and diagnostic services. Many others do not have such services accessible where they live or work. The decline in infant mortality rates has been one of the great gains of this century, but in some disadvantaged groups the rates are still almost twice as high as in the general population. Education in the care of families in health and in illness and expanded health services which reach women in lower income and minority groups are necessary if these rates are to be changed. If women in general are to avoid the high prevalence of chronic illness now found in older age groups, such services must be available to and used by them during their formative and early adult years.

More than 1.3 million women living outside institutions have chronic conditions which make them unable to carry on their major activity—going to school or to work or keeping house. Over 5 million women of working age have chronic conditions limiting their activity. The combined efforts of public and voluntary programs reach only a very small portion of those who need rehabilitation services; additional investment could restore many of them to satisfying and productive lives.

Large numbers of physically and mentally disabled women in this country need rehabilitation services to fit them either for work or for self-care and independence in the activities of daily living.

Community programs under public and private auspices should make comprehensive provisions for health and rehabilitation services, including easily accessible maternal and child health services, accompanied by education to encourage their use.

Staffing such services as these requires considerable womanpower, and serious shortages already exist in the pertinent fields of social work, education, home economics, and health. But most communities could meet the need for personnel by tapping their resources of women with skills that could be rapidly upgraded or retrained and are not now fully used, particularly mature women whose children are grown. The pool of available skills could be greatly expanded if, in addition to recruiting women to enter the shortage professions, subprofessional categories of jobs were developed with appropriate training.

Such trained and qualified assistants could free the professionals to concentrate on that part of their work that demands highest training. So far, nursing has been particularly successful in developing such division of labor; various parts of the nurse's job are now regularly handled by competent aides. Other professions may well follow suit in this regard.

The reorganization of ordinary home maintenance service is long overdue. That many of the women employed in household work remain in it only because they have no alternative became apparent when other opportunities opened up during World War II. In 1940, almost 18 percent of all employed women were household workers; by 1950, the percentage had gone down to 8. Slightly more than 2¼ million women are employed in household work at present.

Household workers have, historically, been low paid, without standards of hours and working conditions, without collective bargaining, without most of the protections accorded by legislation and accepted as normal for other workers, and without means and opportunity adequately to maintain their own homes.

Few families can now afford to employ such workers full time at decent wages, but many families can pay rates in line with modern labor standards for special services as they need them. Privately run placement organizations to market such special services can operate to the mutual benefit of employer and employee, and are doing so in some communities. They can conduct training programs and insure standards of job performance, and they can monitor conditions of work and wages paid. The public employment offices should review their treatment of household service, encouraging the development of specialties and conducting placement on that basis.

In the days when the majority of Americans lived on farms or in rural areas, the Home Demonstration Service was established to aid farm women to improve their homemaking skills. Today, about two-thirds of the Nation's people live in city or suburban areas; but currently, the urban homemaker's chief sources of suggestions on household management are the mass media.

Recently, the Home Demonstration Service has been conducting pilot operations in urban areas; and we believe that the guidance which its agents provided for substantial numbers of American families when the majority of the population lived on farms can be useful to equally substantial numbers of families who now live in cities. Most of the buying done by American families as consumers is done by women. Buying is particularly heavy by young married women at the time of setting up their households and supplying their young families. Yet few girls, at any income level, receive training to develop sound judgment in budgeting, in the wise use of credit, and in selection among bewildering varieties of goods. Low-income families are in especial need of counseling on how to stretch their earnings to get maximum value per dollar spent.

Continuing programs of evaluation and research should determine how well the services currently provided meet the needs of a given community, appraise new needs, and plan for the utilization of new knowledge as it becomes available.

Community Planning

Community planning is essential for the orderly, balanced development of constructive environments for family living. Communities throughout the country are exerting themselves to eliminate slums, cope with traffic, and guide metropolitan growth. Many Federal and State programs are contributing to community development through urban renewal, highway construction, housing projects, hospitals. But these efforts will not result in neighborhoods that are conducive to democratic living if they are guided by physical and economic considerations alone, without relation to the social needs and conditions of the community, nor will they benefit families in all segments of the community if they displace some families while accommodating others.

The location of schools, hospitals, and child care and health facilities should be planned with participation by the parts of the population that are directly affected. The establishment of well-informed and well-coordinated information centers should be considered, where families can obtain advice on home management, education, employment, and housing. Particularly in the case of families from minority groups and of newcomers from rural to urban areas, such centers could transcend local barriers and make known the existence of facilities to whose benefits these groups are entitled but which might otherwise be denied them through indifference on the part of the larger community.

Local leadership should be encouraged to assure the needed range of community services through all appropriate means—by commercial or cooperative enterprises, voluntary agencies, or public programs. This type of community planning is producing promising pilot projects on the part of both government bodies and private agencies.

Voluntary Activities

Responsible citizenship in a democracy implies unremunerated activity on behalf of the community and participation in the institutions through which it carries on its life. Many of the services just discussed have in the past been made possible by voluntary activity. As communities have changed, the basis of voluntary activity has changed with them, both in respect to what needs to be done and in respect to the womanpower available to do it.

Pilot projects geared to current conditions, initiated under the auspices of citizens organizations or voluntary agencies or directly undertaken by volunteers, are developing widely adaptable new models in many fields. Among them are afterschool centers for cultural enrichment and occupation of teenagers, community centers for health education and information, counseling and employment services for older persons, especially women, training and retraining programs, aids to homemakers and older persons, care of children, and services to enable newcomers moved by the currents of American mobility to find their way in the anonymity of urban life. Once their value is demonstrated on a pilot basis, projects initiated by volunteers are frequently adopted for wider application by private, commercial, or public bodies.

Voluntary organizations are attracting new sources of personnel: in addition to business organizations and service clubs, community activities are officially sponsored by the AFL–CIO, and individual unions have pioneered in housing and medical care through mutual self-help. In large measure, however, women of minority groups and low-income families have in the past been left out of this form of activity. Special attention should be given to assuring their active participation.

Where a cross section of the community takes part in policy decisions, the shift from planning for to planning with the persons to be served permits new assumptions of responsibility, brings new insights to bear, and widens the range of persons to be drawn on by organizations and agencies using the services of volunteers. Programs designed to prevent juvenile delinquency, for instance, have gained strength and acceptability as youngsters themselves acquired commitment to their purposes.

Volunteer activity can be carried on at all levels, depending on the qualifications of the interested individual and the jobs to be done. Where accompanied by training, such service can upgrade participants' skills. Volunteer work, under the auspices of voluntary agencies, communities, or educational institutions, can become a substantive part of the preparation for citizenship of today's young girls, and enable them to test at first hand various possibilities for subsequent careers. At the same time, professional men and women who have reached retirement age can contribute highly trained skills on a volunteer basis.

Increased stress on standards and increased specialization by voluntary agencies in many fields—social work, recreation, health—call for high levels of volunteer performance. Where pursued in a disciplined fashion and in accordance with standards comparable to those of employed persons, volunteer activity constitutes valid work experience that merits recognition if and when the individual performing it seeks paid employment. Voluntary agencies should keep records of such work and make them available on request.

As in the case of subprofessional assistants, volunteers trained and qualified for specific tasks can augment the supply of skills in occupations where there are shortages of professionals, supplementing the professionals' work and enabling them to use their capacities to best advantage.

Volunteers' services should be made more effective through coordinated and imaginative planning among agencies and organizations for recruitment, training, placement, and supervision, and their numbers augmented through tapping the large reservoir of additional potential among youth, retired people, members of minority groups, and women not now in volunteer activities.

women in employment

American women work both in their homes, unpaid, and outside their homes, on a wage or salary basis. Among the great majority of women, as among the great majority of men, the motive for paid employment is to earn money. For some, work has additional—or even primary—value as self-fulfillment.

When America was an agricultural country, most of both man's and woman's work was an unpaid contribution to family subsistence. As production developed in factory and city centers, many women began to do outside, for pay, what they had formerly done, unpaid, in their homes—making textiles or garments, processing food, nursing the sick, teaching children. Women's participation in paid employment importantly increases the Nation's labor force: 1 worker in 3 is a woman.

In any average month in 1962, there were some 23 million women at work; the forecast is for 30 million in 1970. Approximately 3 out of 5 women workers are married. Among married women, 1 in 3 is working; among nonwhites, almost 1 in 2. Many of these women, nearly a third, work part time; three-fifths of all part-time work is done by married women. Some 17 million women, in an average month, are full-time workers.

Their occupations range widely: the 1960 census recorded 431 geologists and geophysicists and 18,632 bus drivers. The largest concentration—7 million—is in the clerical field. Three other main groupings—service workers (waitresses, beauticians, hospital attendants), factory operatives, and professional and technical employees (teachers, nurses, accountants, librarians)—number between 3 and 3¾ million each.

Though women are represented in the highly paid professions, in industry, in business, and in government, most jobs that women hold are in low-paid categories. Some occupations—nursing and household work, for instance—are almost entirely staffed by women. The difference in occupational distribution of men and women is largely responsible for the fact that in 1961, the earnings of women working full time averaged only about 60 percent of those of men working full time. But in various occupations where both sexes were employed, the levels of women's earnings were likewise demonstrably lower than those of men.

The existence of differentials in pay between men and women for the same kind of work has been substantiated by studies from numerous sources: an analysis of 1,900 companies, for example, showed that 1 out of 3 had dual pay scales in effect for similar office jobs.

The Commission attempted to gather informed views as to the extent to which access to jobs, rates of pay, and opportunities for training and advancement

EVERY THIRD WORKER IS A WOMAN

(PERCENT OF ALL WORKERS)

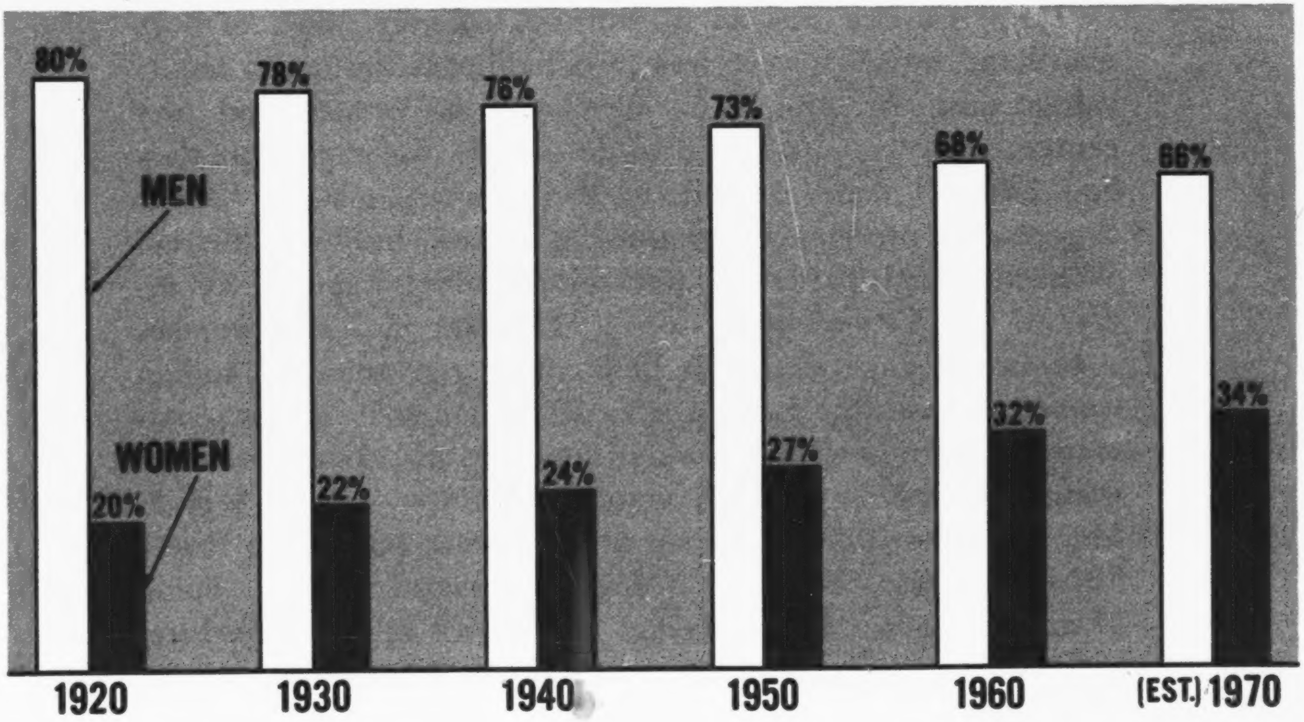
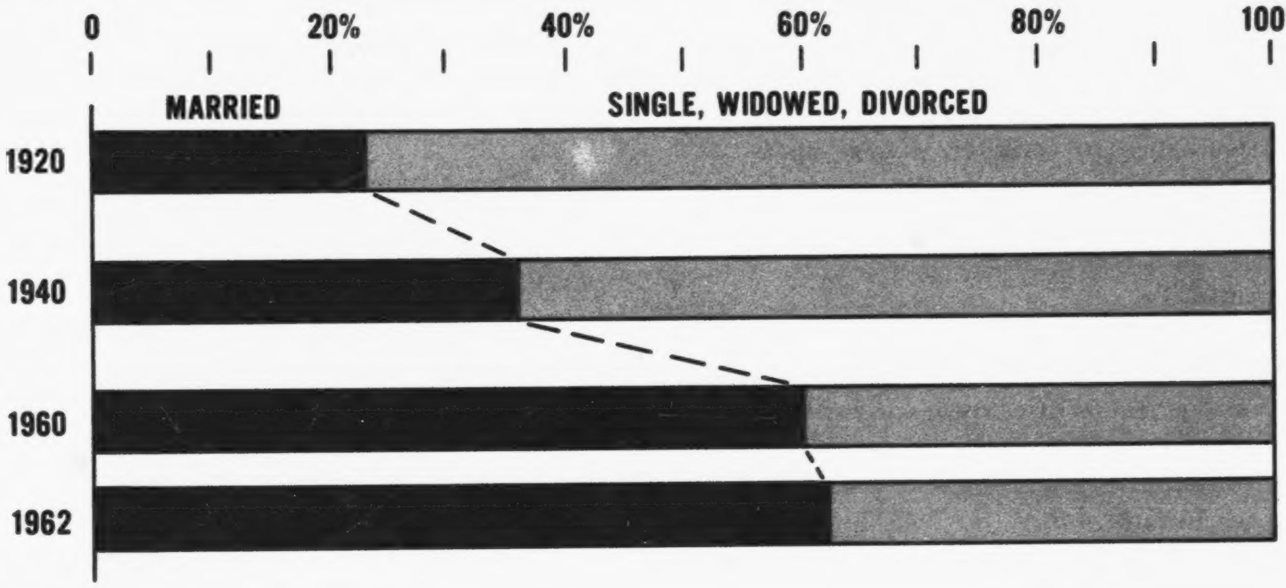


Chart 10. For source, see p. 73.



MOST WOMEN WHO WORK ARE MARRIED

Chart 11. For source, see p. 73.

are based on the qualifications of the women who apply for or hold them, and the extent to which discriminations are made against them in these regards solely because they are women.

The reasons given by employers for differential treatment cover a considerable range. Frequently, they say they prefer male employees because the nonwage costs of employing women are higher. They say that the employment pattern of younger women is in and out of the labor force, working for a time before marriage and thereafter putting family obligations first until their children are grown. They say that women's rates of sickness, absenteeism, and turnover are higher than men's; that the hiring of married women introduces one more element into the turnover rate because the residence of a married couple is normally determined by the occupation of the man. They say that though attendence rates of older women are often better than those of men, insurance and pensions for older workers are expensive, and that compliance with protective labor legislation applying to women is sometimes disruptive of schedules. They say that men object to working under women supervisors.

Because many personnel officers believe that women are less likely than men to want to make a career in industry, equally well-prepared young women are passed over in favor of men for posts that lead into management training programs and subsequent exercise of major executive responsibility.

Actually, situations vary far too much to make generalizations applicable, and more information is needed on rates of quits, layoffs, absenteeism, and illness among women workers and on the qualifications of women for responsible supervisory or executive positions. However, already available statistics on absenteeism and turnover indicate that the level of skill of the job, the worker's age, length of service with the employer, and record of job stability all are much more relevant than the fact that the worker is a man or a woman.

Reluctance to consider women applicants on their merits results in underutilization of capacities that the economy needs and stunts the development of higher skills.

Equality in Private Employment

Various means of causing employers to consider actualities rather than rely on conventional assumptions were considered by the Commission.

The longtime policy of the U.S. Employment Service is to refer people for jobs on the basis of their qualifications. But at the request of the Commission, the USES issued a further directive to public employment offices in the States, instructing their staffs to refer applicants on the basis of qualifications regardless of sex and requesting employers using these offices to avoid job orders specifying sex except where genuinely warranted.

Private employers of all kinds can be urged to examine individual qualifications rather than accept general attitudes when hiring women, as they have begun to do when hiring young persons, older workers, the physically handicapped, and members of minority groups. In the case of private employers holding Government contracts, their performance in respect to employment of women can be made a factor in contract awards.

At the Federal level, the Commission concluded that the most feasible tool for directing employers' attention to the importance of equal treatment for women workers would be an Executive order.

Equal opportunity for women in hiring, training, and promotion should be the governing principle in private employment. An Executive order should state this principle and advance its application to work done under Federal contracts.

The Commission estimates that no more than 20 percent of all women workers would be covered by an Executive order regarding Government contracts. Action should be undertaken to encourage employers who do not have Government contracts to comply with the Federal policy of nondiscrimination.

Executive Order 10925 now forbids discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin in employment under Federal contracts. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities is charged with surveillance of this program, and the various procurement agencies with its specific application. We are aware that this order could be expanded to forbid discrimination based on sex. But discrimination based on sex, the Commission believes, involves problems sufficiently different from discrimination based on the other factors listed to make separate treatment preferable.

Experience is needed in determining what constitutes unjustified discrimination in the treatment of women workers. For instance, expenditures for on-the-job training are now divided about one-tenth for women workers and nine-tenths for men workers, whereas women workers constitute one-third of the work force. Is it discrimination, when providing such training, to limit it to men on the assumption that women will not be in the labor force continually?

The program under the Executive order that we propose obviously ought to be interrelated with already existing programs to encourage wider employment opportunities in a coordinated approach to private employers. Interpretation and periodic review of the results of the proposed order should become a guide to future action.

Federal Service as a Showcase

Where the Federal Government is itself the employer, its hiring and promotion practices can become a showcase for equal employment opportunity without discrimination of any kind. Recognizing that merit is a well-established principle in Federal employment policy, the Commission sought to bring practice into closer accord with principle throughout the Federal service, civilian and military. Here, action on our recommendations took place so rapidly during the life of the Commission that our report becomes for the most part an account of progress already achieved.

One of our remaining concerns has to do with part-time employment.

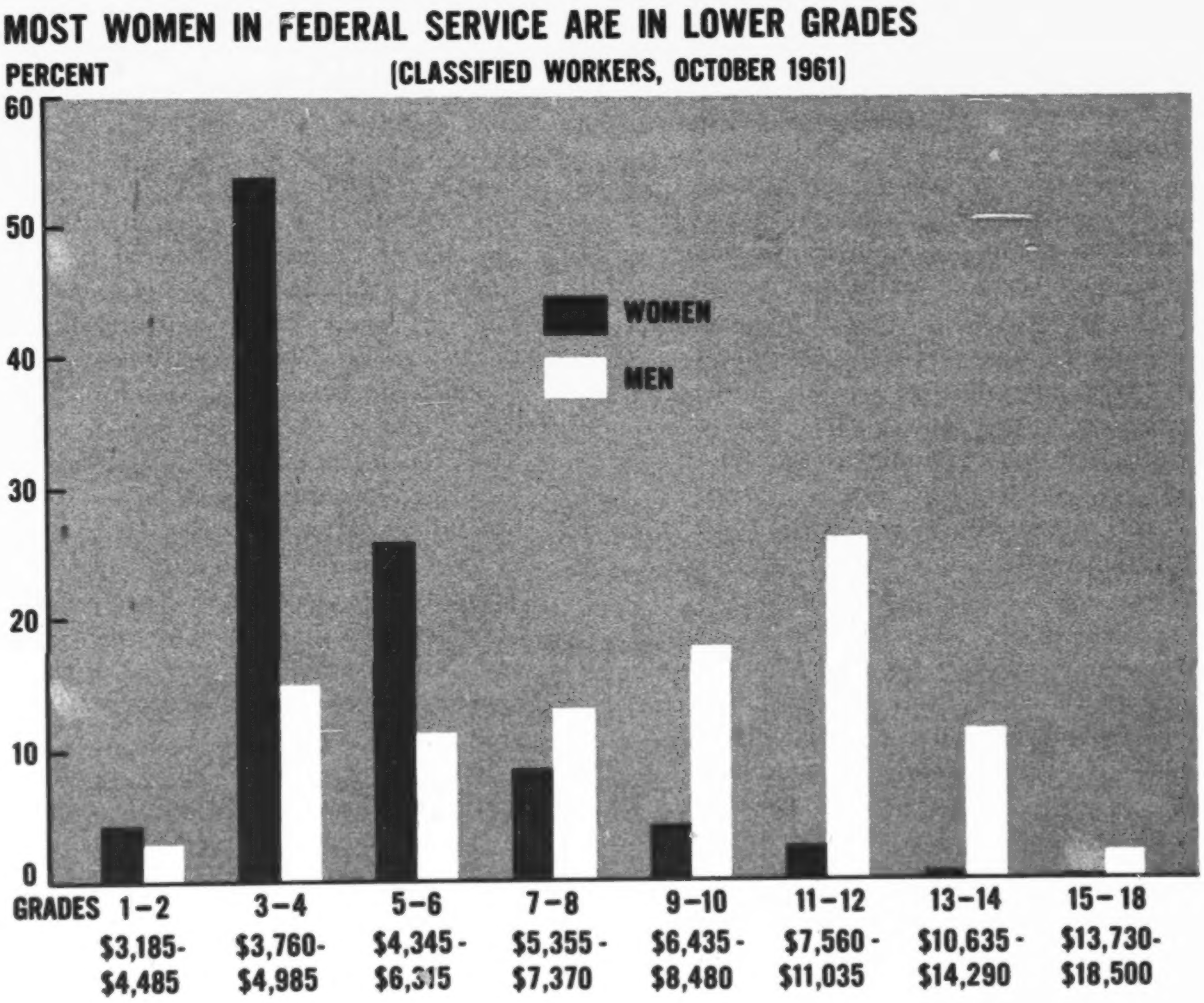


Chart 12. For source, see p. 73.

At present, Federal systems of manpower utilization discourage part-time employment. Many able women, including highly trained professionals, who are not free for full-time employment can work part time. The Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget should facilitate the imaginative and prudent use of such personnel throughout the Government service.

In the Commission's canvass of Federal civilian employment, no significant differences were found in the treatment of either sex in terms and conditions of employment such as pay, premium pay, leave, insurance, retirement, and appellate rights and procedures. But policies and practices concerning appointment and advancement were such as to demand immediate action. The distribution of employment revealed similarities to the private sector: heavy concentration of women in the lower grade office positions, and heavy concentration of men in the professions (other than nurses) and in middle and upper administrative and managerial posts. Less than 2 percent of higher level positions were found to be filled by women.

Based upon interpretation of an old law predating the Civil Service Act of 1883, and reaffirmed by an Attorney General's ruling in 1934, discretion had traditionally been exercised by appointing officials to specify men only or women only, as they chose, for any position regardless of duties. Civil service examinations have over the years been opened to both men and women, but this prerogative of officials in charge of appointments had resulted in specification of sex in a high percentage of requests for names of eligibles from examination lists.

The Commission requested review of the legal basis for this practice. In June 1962, the Attorney General issued an opinion reversing the prior interpretation. In July 1962, by Presidential directive, Federal agencies were instructed to make all selections for appointments, advancement, and training in the Federal service without regard to sex, except in unusual circumstances found justified by the Civil Service Commission. Revised Civil Service regulations amplifying this directive became effective September 1, 1962; there are now very few positions for which sex can be specified in requests for candidates.

Even before issuance of the new regulations, the Civil Service Commission began to require agencies to give reasons for specifying sex. The requirement had prompt effect. Comparison of the requests from Washington agencies for eligibles from the Federal Service Entrance Examination (the examination taken by many college students) during the two periods November 13–December 8, 1961, and February 4–March 3, 1962, shows that in the earlier period, there were 33 requests for women, 205 requests for men, 216 requests with no sex specified; in the latter, 1 request for women, 11 for men, and 682 with no sex specified. Appointments of women from this register have been rising: between October 1960 and October 1961, 14.9 percent of those appointed were women; in the calendar year 1962, 17.3 percent.

Information as to State practices similar to those current until recently in the Federal Government became available when the Public Personnel Association, at the invitation of the Commission, instituted an inquiry into equality of opportunity for women in public employment at State and municipal levels and released the responses of

43 States and 32 cities. In the light of these findings, the Commission recommended that when the standards for State merit systems in connection with various grants-in-aid from the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, Labor, and Defense were revised, the existing provision against discrimination be rewritten to prohibit descrimination on the basis of any nonmerit factor. This was done in January 1963.

Similarly at the request of the Commission, comprehensive studies of employment profiles and advancement patterns in civilian Federal employment and in the Foreign Service Officers Corps were conducted by the Civil Service Commission and the Department of State. Their results now make it possible, for the first time, to substitute facts for conjecture with respect to separation rates and their causes, grade levels reached, and attitudes affecting promotions, with data given by sex.

There are 307 women Foreign Service Officers. Study of separation rates among persons appointed in the 1956 class showed that some 47 percent of the women had resigned at the end of 2½ years as contrasted with 6 percent of the men. The frequent changes in assignment required by a diplomatic career discourage marriage for women; only 17 of the women career officers are married. No differences were found in the women's advancement rate as compared with the men's in this service.

In the Civil Service Commission study, women's voluntary quits, overall, were found to be between 2½ and 3 times those of men. This is because women predominate in younger age groups and low-paid occupations, where turnover is higher for both men and women. When comparisons were made by age groups, salary levels, and occupations, it appeared that women's rates, while still higher, are much closer to men's: the loss of employees by turnover decreases significantly with increasing grade level. Women in the middle age ranges are a more stable group than either men or women under 25; women who enter the labor market in their forties show very low turnover rates compared with other women.

Almost half of the women who leave Federal agencies give reasons related to family responsibilities. The reasons of single women for leaving are similar to those of men. Nearly 1 woman in 4 leaves for the same reasons as are given by almost half of the men—to receive broader experience or better pay elsewhere, or because of dissatisfaction with their working situation. The next ranking cause of women's quits is health or voluntary retirement.

While the advancement rate of men and women differs considerably according to occupation, the overall difference in median grade in white-collar occupations is about five grades. Some three-quarters of the men are in grades reached by only one-quarter of the women. Differences are less sharp in such highly professional groups as attorneys, but in most cases women with comparable education and years of service are at lower grades than men. The women in the higher grades are somewhat older than the men; more of them have college degrees. Typically, they are not married; those who are, have smaller families than men in the same grade. The advancement of single women is noticeably but not strikingly greater than that of married women. Women in the upper grades are quite as involved in their careers as men; they engage more frequently than men in professional activities related to their jobs.

A very large proportion of men at all grade levels believe that men are better supervisors than women, and a somewhat smaller number that men do better in nonsupervisory posts as well, though actual experience working with women as supervisors or coworkers modified the strength of such views. The majority of women thought there was no difference in performance of men and women. The extent of negative attitudes among men as to the ability of women emphasizes the need for research on the sources of such views and attitudes, and the adoption of positive policies to diminish prejudice where it exists and to improve women's performance where grievances are found to be justified.

These studies of the Federal service, offering the first firm data on many phases of women's employment, place ascertained facts at the disposal of the personnel policymakers of the Nation's largest employer. The Commission believes that they will be of interest to large private employers as well. In the Government service, this new knowledge can become the basis of policies extending women's opportunities to new levels. While the President's directive, by requiring equal consideration of men and women for promotions, will improve the promotion rate of women, the Civil Service Commission and top management of the individual agencies must give continuing attention to insuring that advancement is based solely on merit.

The uniformed services have done much commendable pioneering in training and utilizing women in positions traditionally reserved for men. Statutory restrictions on the numbers of top officers in the women's components, however, dating from their formation 21 years ago, still set specific limits on the numbers of Marine, Army, and Air Force colonels and lieutenant colonels and Navy commanders and lieutenant commanders. The Commission proposed that these restrictions be eliminated, with the number of such officers left to the discretion of the Secretary of each service, within the overall limits provided for all officers. The Commission also proposed that the services reexamine their estimates of requirements for top officers in the Nurse Corps and the Medical Specialists Corps in light of the need for staff cadres capable of fast expansion in an emergency. In July 1962, the Secretary of Defense stated that these recommendations had been adopted; the bill for revision of career management of officer personnel, sent to the Congress in 1963, included the change with respect to women officers.

labor standards

Many of the lowest paid jobs in industry and the service occupations have historically been filled by women; driven by economic necessity, they have taken whatever jobs they could find even though conditions were damaging to health and family life. They have labored—and been exploited—as textile and needle trades workers, as laundresses and waitresses, as doers of industrial homework. Among the lowest paid workers, many have been women from minority groups.

When the formation of trade unions helped raise wages and improve working conditions through collective bargaining, some of these occupations proved—and have remained—hard to organize. Even now, nearly 30 years after the right to organize and bargain collectively was given Federal recognition in the Wagner Act, only a little over 3⅓ million out of 24 million women in the labor force are union members.

Little by little, first in some of the States and then at the Federal level, legislation has put floors under wages and ceilings on hours. But such laws are far from uniform from State to State and are still far from adequate. At both Federal and State levels, research and regular reporting on the operation of protective labor laws would point the way to desirable future changes.

Minimum Wages

In 1938, the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) put a floor under wages for both men and women engaged in a large number of occupations related to interstate commerce. It set minimum wages, and its requirement of premium pay for hours worked above 40 a week helped control excessive hours. But the FLSA exempts most workers, many of them women, in hotels, motels, restaurants, laundries, nonprofit organizations, and certain retail establishments.

At the same time, an estimated 6 million women are employed in intrastate work not covered by minimum wage legislation. Twenty-one States are either without minimum wage statutes or without such statutes in operation. There and elsewhere, several million women earn less than $1 an hour. Most of them are in the service trades, retailing, or domestic service.

The Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, including premium pay for overtime, should be extended to employment subject to Federal jurisdiction but now uncovered, such as work in hotels, motels, restaurants, and laundries, in additional retail establishments, in agriculture, and in nonprofit organizations.

State legislation, applicable to both men and women, should be enacted, or strengthened and extended to all types of employment, to provide minimum wage levels approximating the minimum under Federal law and to require premium pay at the rate of at least time and a half for overtime.

Maximum Hours

In the past, mimimum wage and maximum hour legislation for women has been a lever for eliminating substandard conditions for both men and women, yet the benefits to be derived from such labor standards remain to be achieved for many workers. The existing range of legal working hours for women, applicable to one or more types of employment, becomes clear when the maximum hour laws of the States are compared. Seven States and Puerto Rico set no legal maximum; 4, a maximum of 60 hours a week for women workers; 14, within a range under 60 but over 48; 24 States and the District of Columbia place a ceiling at 48; the remaining State specifies a top limit of a 44-hour week and an 8-hour day.

In private employment excluding agriculture and household service, the hours actually worked in early 1963 averaged around 40 a week. Nearly 3 workers in 4—71 percent—work 40 hours or less; but 13.5 percent work 49 hours or more. The effectiveness over the past 25 years of the Fair Labor Standards Act in providing a deterrent in the form of premium pay designed to reduce the scheduling of excessive hours recommends this as the most practicable method of achieving future protection under normal circumstances. But while events press toward this goal, the welfare of all workers requires that where special hour protection for women represents the best so far attained it should be maintained and strengthened.

The normal workday and workweek at this moment of history should be not more than 8 hours a day and 40 hours a week. The best way to discourage excessive hours for all workers is by broad and effective minimum wage coverage, both Federal and State, providing overtime of at least time and a half the regular rate for all hours in excess of 8 a day or 40 a week.

Until such time as this goal is attained, State legislation limiting maximum hours of work for women should be maintained, strengthened, and expanded. Provisions for flexibility under proper safeguards should allow additional hours of work when there is a demonstrated need. During this interim period, efforts should continuously and simultaneously be made to require premium rates of pay for all hours in excess of 8 a day or 40 a week.

There is one group of workers, however, for whom exemption from existing maximum hour laws is desirable. Executive, administrative, and professional women frequently find that limitations on hours adversely affect their opportunities for employment and advancement. Exemptions for such occupations should be carefully drawn so as to insure against evasion of normally applicable hour laws in the case of workers who genuinely need their protection.

Equal Pay

In 1919, the first equal pay laws in the States were enacted; 24 States now require that women who do the same or comparable work as men in the same establishment be paid at the same rates. Lower pay rates for women doing the same work as men are not uncommon. For instance, studies made in 1960 showed area averages of women bank note-tellers with less than 5 years of experience running typically $5–$15 a week less than the averages of men with the same years of experience, and differences of 9 to 49 cents an hour between the averages of men and women in the same power laundry occupations in a number of metropolitan areas.

In February 1962, the Commission endorsed the policy of equal pay for comparable work. A bill embodying this principle cleared both houses of Congress in 1962 but failed to reach conference before adjournment. Reintroduced in 1963, it passed and was signed by President Kennedy on June 10. The act amends the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to require equal pay for equal work; it covers some 27.5 million men and women.

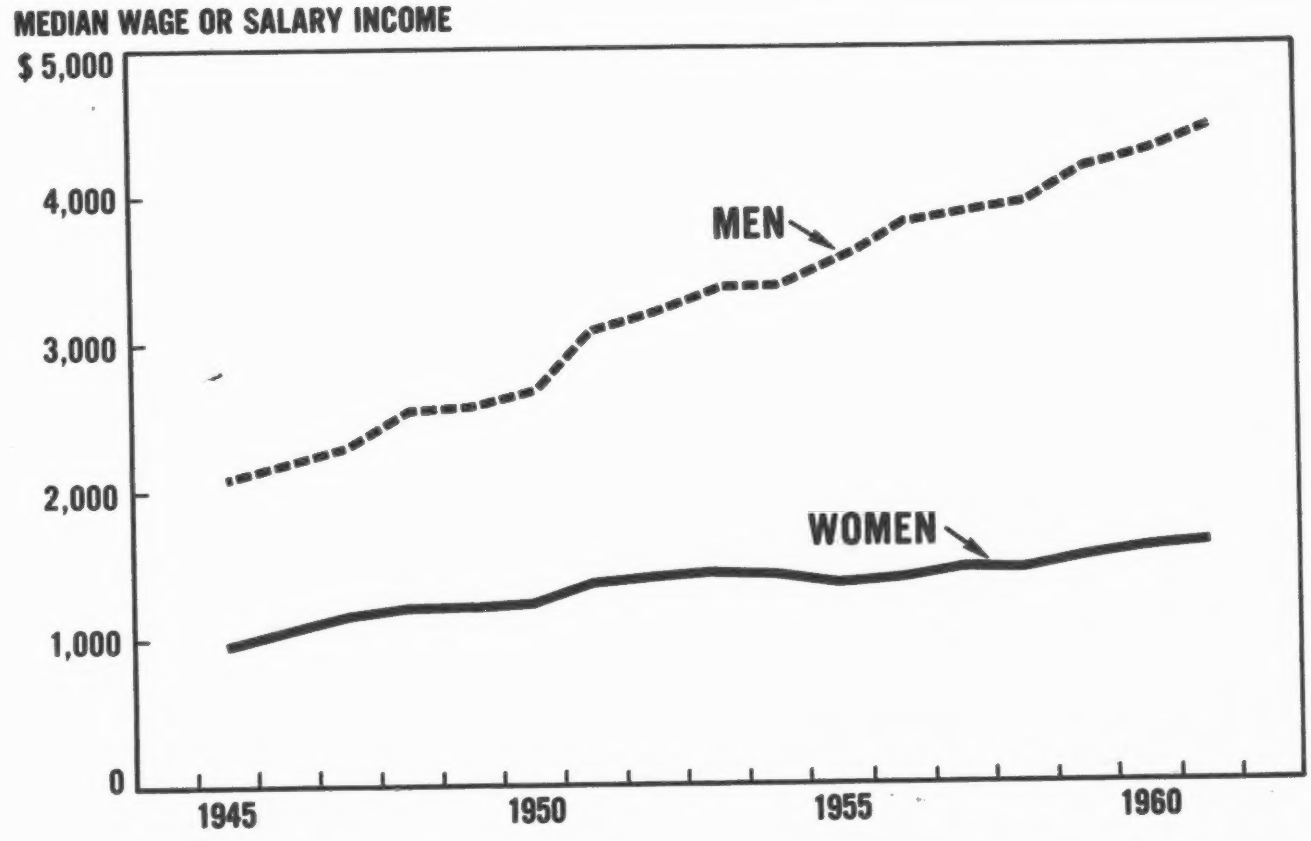
State laws should establish the principle of equal pay for comparable work.

Greater Flexibility

In the case of a few State statutes, none of which currently affects large numbers of workers, the Commission believes that revision in the interest of greater flexibility is desirable. These measures, originally intended to protect women workers, have sometimes proved impracticable in their actual operation.

Restrictions that set fixed maximum limits upon weights women are allowed to lift do not take account of individual differences, are sometimes unrealistic and always rigid. They should be replaced by flexible regulations, applicable to both men and women and set by appropriate regulatory bodies.

Nightwork, especially on the graveyard shift, is undesirable for most people, and



WOMEN'S EARNINGS ARE LESS THAN MEN'S AND.....

Chart 13. For source, see p. 73.

should be discouraged for both men and women. Overly rigid prohibitions, however, may work to the disadvantage of women in some circumstances. Strict regulations to prevent abuse are therefore normally preferable to prohibitions.

Prohibitions of exploitative industrial homework should remain in force. Gaps in protection should be closed, and resourcefulness exercised to arrest the development of new types of undesirable homework. However, many women who withdraw from the labor force to raise families have clerical skills; these—and editorial and research skills also—lend themselves to part-time work during years of intensive homemaking; their use is subject to exploitation and should be monitored, but it should not be made impossible by legal inflexibility.

Handicapped women, homebound for physical or psychological reasons or because of their location, should likewise not be blocked from undertaking suitable gainful employment. Offers of employment to the homebound, however, need to be carefully policed by public agencies to protect against swindles and rackets.

The women who are now without the protection of adequate Federal or State laws or collective bargaining contracts are highly vulnerable elements in the

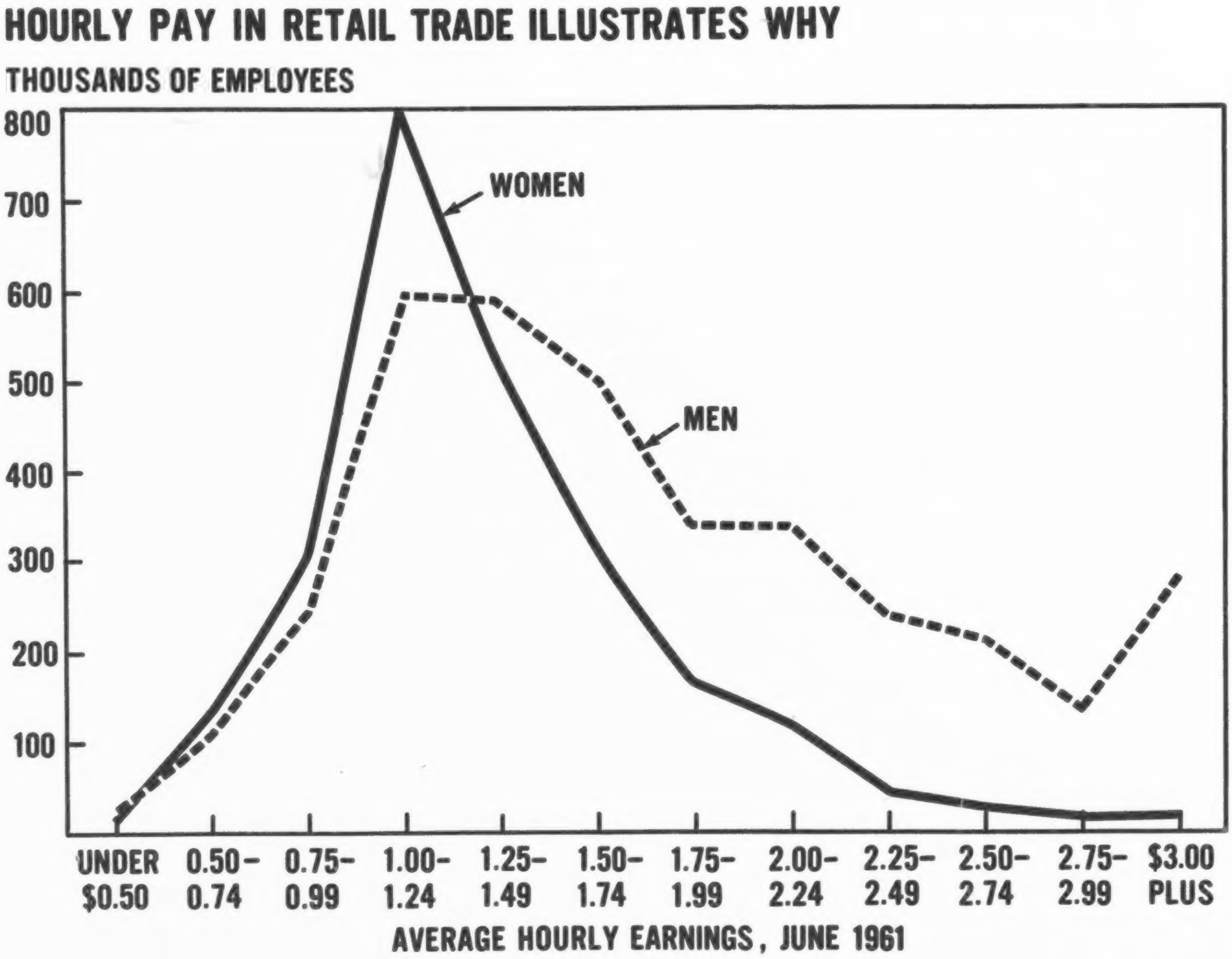


Chart 14. For source, see p. 73.

labor force. Many are women of minority groups. As labor standards have been raised, those who remain unprotected are increasingly those who suffer multiple handicaps and disabilities. This gives special urgency to completion of the task of assuring decent standards for all people who work.

The Right to Organize

The effectiveness of unions in achieving improved working conditions, increased dignity, and essential protections has long been amply demonstrated, and the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively has been established under Federal law. In places of work solely under State jurisdiction, the difficulty of organizing women, especially those in low-paid work who are least able to risk possible loss of earnings, is augmented when employers are under no legal obligation to bargain collectively or to refrain from antiunion practices, including discharge of union members.

State laws should protect the right of all workers to join unions of their own choosing and to bargain collectively.

security of basic income

Security of basic income for the men and women who produce the country's goods and services was greatly enlarged in the mid-thirties by measures to assure to workers and their dependents a minimum income on which they could rely when their earnings were interrupted by unemployment or halted by retirement. The Social Security Act, first passed in 1935, instituted the Federal system of old-age, survivors, and disability insurance and the cooperative Federal-State program for unemployment compensation. Over the years, these programs have been successively widened in their coverage. But some important gaps remain, and for many workers, State unemployment insurance benefits lag so far behind current earnings levels as to undercut the intent of the legislation.

Because increases in general benefits under old-age, survivors, and disability insurance and unemployment insurance would be applicable to the entire population, the Commission did not consider them. Similarly, it did not consider current proposals to add hospitalization for elderly persons to the old-age benefit system, even though in this case women would be the major beneficiaries, since in the upper age groups they outnumber men and outlive them. The improvements proposed are limited to inequities directly affecting women.

Widows' Benefits

Among provisions of the old-age benefit system, the Commission gave special attention to the benefits of aged widows. The number of such beneficiaries is now almost 2 million and will rise rapidly over the next decade.

The law calculates the benefit of a dependent as a percentage of the primary benefit based on a worker's earnings. A widow now becomes eligible at age 62 to receive a benefit equal to 82½ percent of her husband's primary benefit. Currently, the primary benefits of retired workers average $76 a month; those of widows, $66. An aged widow should not have to live on less than her husband would receive if he survived her. We are aware of the cost of such a program—its full realization would require an increase of 0.25 percent of taxable payrolls—but this much additional basic security would mitigate existing dependency.

MILLIONS OF ELDERLY WOMEN DEPEND ON SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

(MILLIONS OF RECIPIENTS)

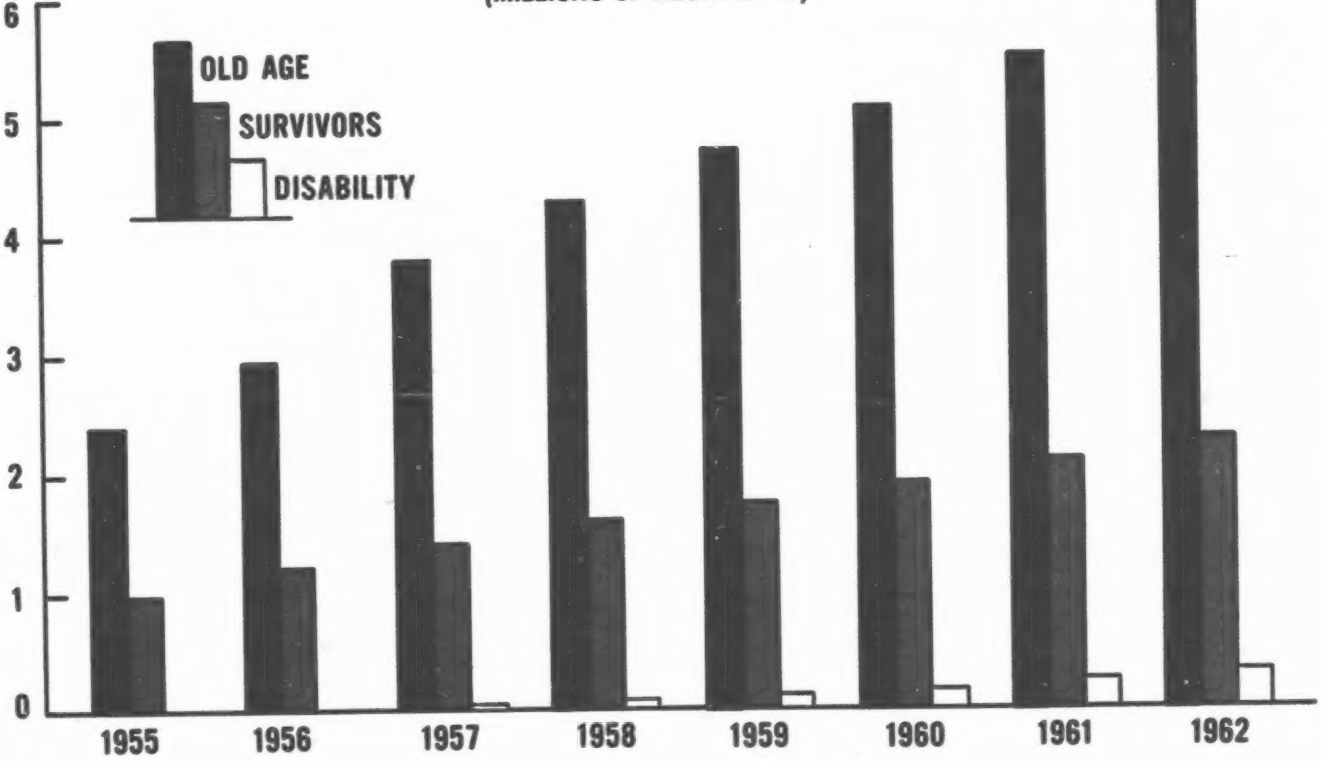


Chart 15. For source, see p. 73.

A widow's benefit under the Federal old-age insurance system should be equal to the amount that her husband would have received at the same age had he lived. This objective should be approached as rapidly as may be financially feasible.

The situation of two smaller, special groups of widows now unprovided for should likewise be considered. A divorced wife, if she has not remarried and if her marriage continued for a substantial period such as 10 years, or a divorced widow, should become eligible at 62 to a wife's or widow's benefit based on her former husband's wage record. Similarly, a widow who is disabled at the time of her husband's death, or becomes so after cessation of her benefits as a mother but before she has had a reasonable period in which to acquire insured status in her own right, should have a disabled widow's benefit. The estimated cost of the first program would be 0.02 percent of taxable payrolls; that of the second, 0.04 percent.

Dependents of Single Women

Many single women who are primary workers have relatives other than parents who are as dependent on their earnings as wives and children are on the earnings of husbands or fathers. Many single workers, for instance, have dependent sisters who keep house for them. Yet on their death, parents alone are eligible for benefits. A broader definition of dependents of single workers, men and women alike, would meet a genuine social need. The cost—in the neighborhood of 0.01 percent of taxable payrolls—would not be significant in relation to the gains it would bring.

Unemployment Insurance

Women for the most part receive the same protection as men under the Federal-State system of unemployment insurance. But all except one of the major groups still left uncovered are substantially, if not predominantly, composed of women workers. These groups are employees of small firms, nonprofit organizations, and State and local governments; household workers, and agricultural laborers. Both the Federal Government and the States should work toward broader inclusion.

The coverage of the unemployment insurance system should be extended. Small establishments and nonprofit organizations should be covered now through Federal action, and State and local government employees through State action. Practicable means of covering at least some household workers and agricultural workers should be actively explored.

Furthermore, statutory, administrative, and judicial limitations have, over the years, restricted the protection of women against loss of income that this program was originally intended to cover. The restrictive decisions seem to assume that all women are secondary workers, loosely attached to the job market, who work only to supply the household with extras. In this view, men are considered the primary workers, and concentrated attention is given to preventing women from drawing unemployment benefits on the ground that they work sporadically without seriously looking for continuous employment.

The analysis of the employment experience of persons drawing benefits under the Temporary Extended Unemployment

Compensation Act of 1961 showed that 61 percent of women claimants had been in the labor market continuously for the preceding 36 months, and only 10 percent for less than 24 of the 36 months. We believe that benefits should be afforded women on the same basis as men, with adoption of realistic measurements of attachment to the labor market which would prevent benefit payments to persons of either sex who seek work only sporadically.

In all States, workers unable or unwilling to work are disqualified from the receipt of unemployment compensation. But in 36 States, disqualification of women for specified periods during pregnancy and maternity is additionally stipulated. Wide variations among types of jobs and physical capacities of individuals suggest the desirability of flexible means of determining the period during which a women is in fact unable to work.

The overwhelming majority of workers who quit because of marital obligations, such as following a spouse to another locality, are women. In the majority of States they are eligible for benefits if they seek to continue in employment. In 22 States, however, laws specify periods after leaving a job, or periods after reemployment on a new job, which must elapse before such persons again become eligible for unemployment compensation.

The income gap thus caused is by no means inconsiderable. Accordingly, we believe that unemployment compensation should be available to persons seeking work who are temporarily jobless because of a family move, but recommend that such compensation be drawn from the general unemployment fund of the State rather than charged against the account of the former employer.

Maternity Benefits

The general Federal system of social security makes no provision for compensating a working wife for loss of income due to childbearing. Forty-six of the fifty States also ignore it. Yet in about 70 other countries, governmental action has provided for such protection, mostly as part of broader programs of insurance against income loss due to sickness or temporary disability.

Not more than a third of American working women have such insurance from either private or public sources; only in New Jersey, Rhode Island, and to a limited extent in California and New York are maternity benefits provided by State laws. This is one of the major remaining gaps in the protection of workers against losses of income.

Paid maternity leave or comparable insurance benefits should be provided for women workers; employers, unions, and governments should explore the best means of accomplishing this purpose.

women under the law

Equality of rights under the law for all persons, male or female, is so basic to democracy and its commitment to the ultimate value of the individual that it must be reflected in the fundamental law of the land. The Commission believes that this principle of equality is embodied in the 5th and 14th amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The 14th amendment prohibits any State from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law and from denying to any person the equal protection of the laws. Essentially the same prohibitions apply to the Federal Government under the due process clause of the fifth amendment.

In the face of these amendments, however, there remain, especially in certain State laws and official practices, distinctions based on sex which discriminate against women. Both the States and the Federal Government may classify persons for the purpose of legislation, but the classification must be based on some reasonable ground. There exist some laws and official practices which treat men and women differently and which do not appear to be reasonable in the light of the multiple activities of women in present-day society.

The Commission considered various proposed methods of achieving greater recognition of the rights of women:

- Test litigation seeking redress from discrimination under constitutional safeguards looking to ultimate review by the U.S. Supreme Court.
- Amendment to the U.S. Constitution—the proposed equal rights amendment provides, in part, that *Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of sex.*
- State legislative action to eliminate discriminatory State laws.

Divergent viewpoints on these methods, particularly among national women's organizations and labor union groups, were made known in documents lodged with the Commission and in oral presentations at two hearings.

Constitutional Recognition

Since the Commission is convinced that the U.S. Constitution now embodies equality of rights for men and women, we conclude that a constitutional amendment need not now be sought in order to establish this principle. But judicial clarification is imperative in order that remaining ambiguities with respect to the constitutional protection of women's rights be eliminated.

Early and definitive court pronouncement, particularly by the U.S. Supreme Court, is urgently needed with regard to the validity under the 5th and 14th amendments of laws and official practices discriminating against women, to the end that the principle of equality become firmly established in constitutional doctrine.

Accordingly, interested groups should give high priority to bringing under court review cases involving laws and practices which discriminate against women.

At the same time, appropriate Federal, State, and local officials in all branches of government should be urged to scrutinize carefully those laws, regulations, and practices which distinguish on the basis of sex to determine whether they are justifiable in the light of contemporary conditions and to the end of removing archaic standards which today operate as discriminatory.

The Commission commends and encourages continued efforts on the part of all interested groups in educating the public and in urging private action, and action within the judicial, executive, and legislative branches of government, to the end that full equality of rights may become a reality.

International Conventions on Human Rights

The Commission has been sensitive to the importance of equality of rights not alone to women in the United States, but to women around the world, in the new nations and in the older countries. Until December 1962, when the United States signed the United Nations convention on marriage, the only human rights convention that this country had signed was that against genocide. Past abstentions have been in response to fears lest use of the treaty power affect practices of the States, but some of the proposed human rights conventions would require no change in State practice, and others relate only to Federal matters. Many of the minimum rights protected under such conventions are already secured in this country but not in other countries; abroad, the U.S. policy of abstention has not infrequently been misunderstood as indifference.

The United States should assert leadership, particularly in the United

Nations, in securing equality of rights for women as part of the effort to define and assure human rights; should participate actively in the formulation of international declarations, principles, and conventions to improve the status of women throughout the world; and should demonstrate its sincere concern for women's equal rights by becoming a party to appropriate conventions.

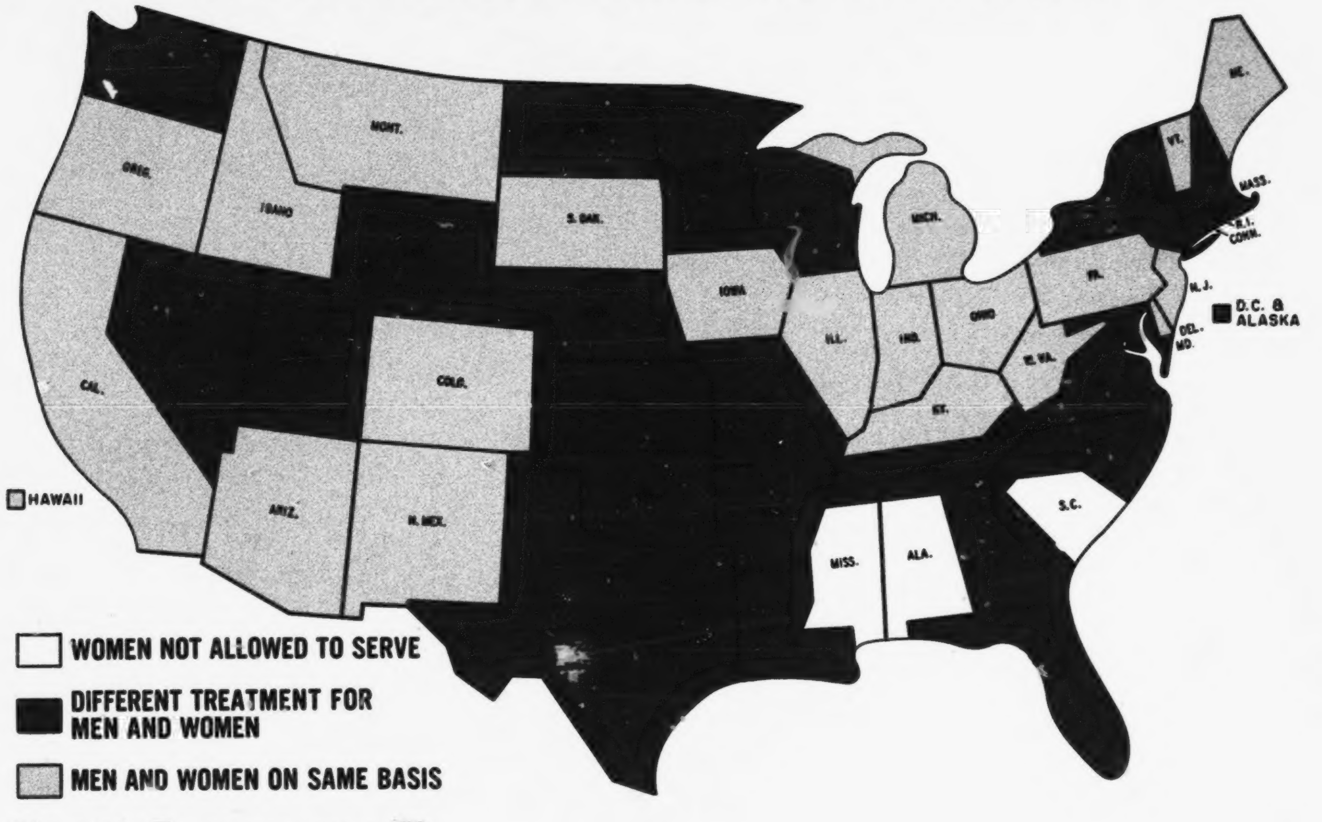
Jury Service

The right to trial by a jury that reflects the community is a bulwark of justice. Women became eligible to serve on all Federal juries only by virtue of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Commission regards further Federal legislation as necessary to assure that procedures for selecting the names of qualified persons to be placed in the jury box shall not systematically or deliberately exclude any group from the jury panel on account of race, sex, political or religious affiliation, or economic or social status.

In 3 States, women still may not serve on juries of the State courts, and in 26 others and the District of Columbia, women who are called on for jury service may claim exemptions that are not available to men.

Appropriate action, including enactment of legislation where necessary, should be taken to achieve equal jury service in the States.

STATE LAWS ON JURY SERVICE ARE NOT UNIFORM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ILL.
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WOMEN NOT ALLOWED TO SERVE
DIFFERENT TREATMENT FOR MEN AND WOMEN
MEN AND WOMEN ON SAME BASIS

Chart 16. For source, see p. 73.

It is also desirable for appropriate agencies like the Federal Judicial Conference and the National Conference of State Chief Justices, as well as national and State civic organizations, to give continuing attention to assuring equal jury service without distinction as to sex. Women and men alike should assume their responsibilities for making juries representative of the communities in which they live.

Personal and Property Rights

In many specific areas of State law, the disabilities of married women are considerable. State statutes affecting family law and personal and property rights of women should be modernized.

Single women enjoy equality of legal treatment with men in respect to property and contract law, the only general exception being the lower minimum age at which they may contract to marry. But married women, over much broader legal ranges, are denied such equality.

Limitations on the rights of married women derive from a long history: some go back to concepts of the common law brought to this continent by its English settlers; some, particularly those related to concepts of community property, derive from the law traditional among the settlers from France and Spain. In practically all of these areas of law, remedial action lies under the jurisdiction of the States. Many States have already removed most inequities, but in every State, one kind of disability or another limits the legal rights of married women.

State legislatures and other groups concerned with the improvement of State statutes affecting family law and personal and property rights of married women, including the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, the Council of State Governments, the American Law Institute, and State Commissions on the Status of Women, should move to eliminate laws which impose legal disabilities on women.

Specifically, the Commission directs their attention to these considerations:

- The civil capacity of married women and married men should be equalized through the elimination of legal restrictions on the rights of married women to contract, convey, or own real or personal property, to engage in business, to act as surety or fiduciary, to receive and control their own earnings, and to dispose of their own property by will; the law governing domicile for purposes such as voting, holding public office, jury service, taxation, and probate should be the same for married women as it is for married men.
- Marriage as a partnership in which each spouse makes a different but equally important contribution is increasingly recognized as a reality in this country and is already reflected in the laws of some other countries. During marriage, each spouse should have a legally defined substantial right in the earnings of the other, in the real and personal property acquired through those earnings, and in their management. Such a right should be legally recognized as surviving the marriage in the event of its termination by divorce, annulment, or death. Appropriate legislation should safeguard either spouse and protect the surviving spouse against improper alienation of property by the other. Surviving children as well as the surviving spouse should be protected from disinheritance.

▲ The prevailing rule in the United States is for guardianship of children during marriage to be vested jointly in both parents; all States should make their statutes conformable to it.

▲ In line with the partnership view of marriage, while the husband should continue to have primary responsibility for support of his wife and minor children, the wife should be given legal responsibility for sharing in the support of herself and the children to the extent she has means to do so.

Modernization of State law in these respects should be initiated now.

The Commission found that in several areas, legal research and analysis are essential before firm proposals for reform can be recommended. These include:

▲ The effect of according married women the same right as married men to establish a separate domicile on marital status, rights, and obligations, on alimony and support, on custody and visitation of children.

▲ Minimum age of marriage for males and females.

▲ Alimony, support, and property settlements. Such a study should include not only the law and practice pertaining to the rendition of alimony and support decrees, but also methods of locating persons responsible for the support of dependents.

▲ Differences in substantive law and procedure as between men and women in the field of criminal law and administration, including correction.

The Commission notes the great progress that women have achieved during the last few decades as the result of the efforts of civic and other organizations, including women's groups, to focus public attention on the problem of discrimination based on sex and believes that continuance and increase of these efforts constitute an indispensable condition to the achievement of equal rights for women. Such groups can likewise render service by helping women of all groups and income levels to know their rights; while rights accorded women frequently lag behind those accorded men, many women are inadequately aware of what their current rights actually are.

A know-your-rights pamphlet should be published, under either public or private auspices, to enable more women to become aware of their legal position.

women as citizens

For over 40 years, since the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution gave American women the right to vote in national elections in 1920, political participation by women has grown in many directions. But full participation in all of the functions of a citizen is not yet a fact.

Millions of citizens of both sexes consistently absent themselves from the polls. The generation that struggled to obtain votes for women would have had difficulty believing that use of the right they gained would be as desultory as it is in many communities. Visitors from abroad, alike from countries whose women were active in the early suffrage movements and from countries where newly acquired independence has enfranchised large populations within the past few years, are surprised at the low percentages of the adult American population that appear at the polls.

Exercise of the Franchise

In the 1960 presidential election, the 68,836,000 ballots cast for President represented 64 percent of the estimated number of Americans old enough to vote; the 62,015,000 ballots of the 1956 election represented 60 percent. Presidential elections induce the Nation's maximum electoral effort: in off year elections, when, nevertheless, a third of the U.S. Senators and all Members of the House of Representatives are chosen, the votes cast for candidates for Members of the House of Representatives are materially less. In 1962, they represented 47 percent of estimated potential voters, and in 1958, 43 percent. Exercise of the franchise varies by region. It is lowest in the South, where registration of minority groups has been resisted and where poll taxes have discouraged voting by low-income white citizens as well. It is highest on the Pacific Coast.

Women currently outnumber men in the U.S. population by some 3¾ million, but in terms of registration and election-day turnout, their failure to use their vote converts them into a minority. Statistical records are rarely kept in forms that give breakdowns of voting by

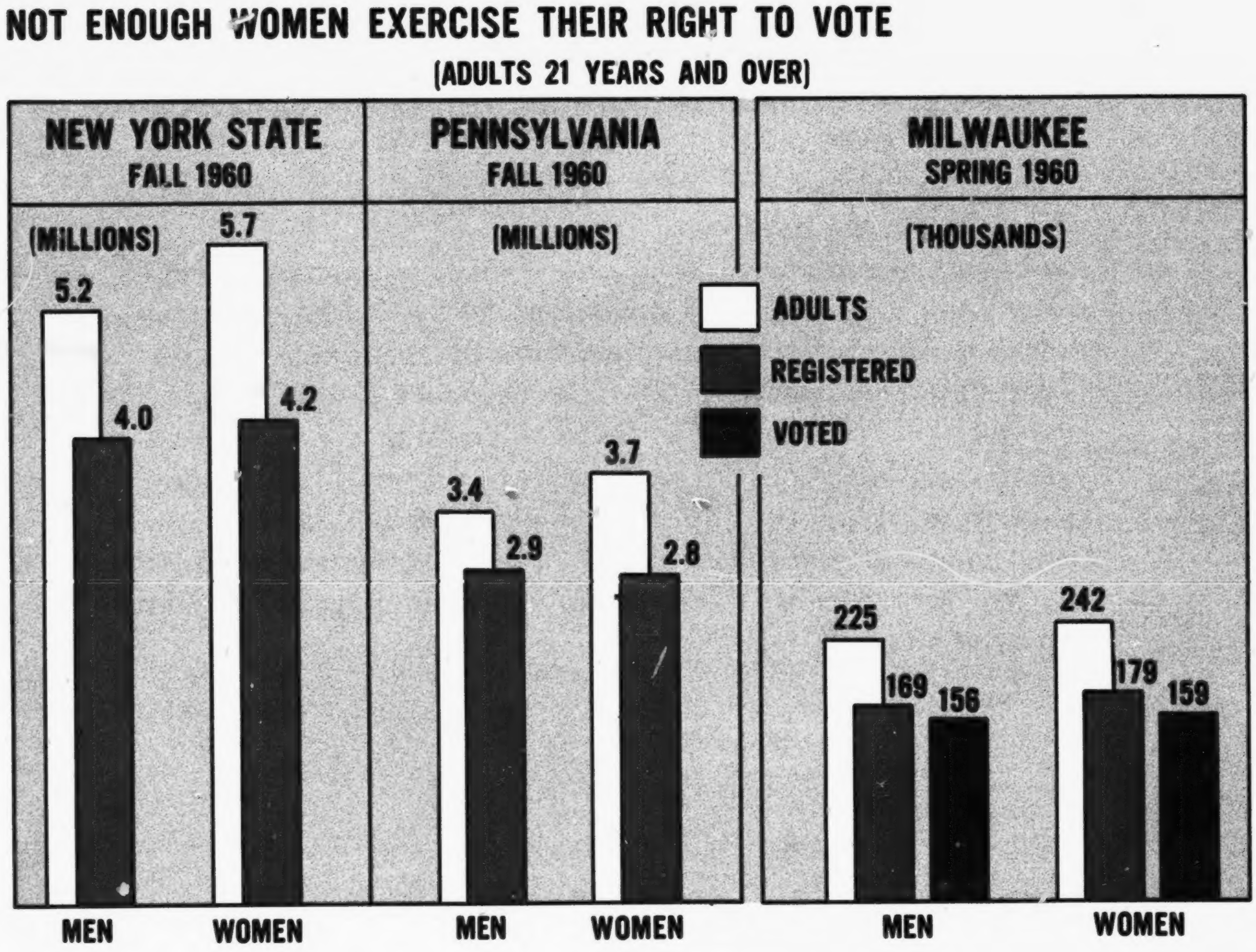


Chart 17. For source, see p. 73.

sex, but those that exist show women's rates of participation to be lower than men's, alike in the proportions of adults who register and in the proportions of registrants who actually cast votes.

Additional efforts are necessary to interest and educate women on public issues, prepare them for more constructive activity in the national parties, and stimulate them to seek elective and appointive office.

Women in Public Office

In the Federal Congress, only 2 of 100 Senators and 11 of 435 Representatives are women. Only two women have held cabinet rank in the Federal Government; only six have served as ambassadors or ministers. In Federal judicial office, no women are on the Supreme Court or the courts of appeals. One woman judge serves on the U.S. Customs Court and one on the Tax Court of the United States. Of 307 Federal district judges, only 2 are women.

Among appointive posts in the upper levels of the Federal executive branch, a study of occupants of the key offices listed in the *U.S. Government Organization Manual* shows that under the past three administrations women have comprised a constant percent—2.4—of a rising number: 79 of 3,273 in 1951–52; 84 of 3,491 in 1958–59; 93 of 3,807 in 1961–62.

In the States, as of 1962, of approximately 7,700 seats in State legislatures, 234 were held by women.

Few women have been elected or appointed to State executive offices of cabinet rank; secretary of state, treasurer, and auditor are the posts most commonly held. In some States, appointments of women to public office have clustered in certain fields regarded as "women's areas": those dealing with juveniles, school affairs, health, welfare, libraries. At all levels of government, efforts should be made to widen the range of positions to which women are normally appointed.

The low proportion of women in public office reflects the low proportion of women prominent in the private occupations that normally lead to political activity and advancement. Few women possess the practical experience obtained at middle and upper levels of administrative and executive responsibility, and they therefore lack the public visibility that goes with such posts and in turn becomes a basis for appointment to public office.

Law is commonly the professional background of both State and Federal legislators, but only 3.5 percent of the lawyers of the country are women. In view of this proportion, it is noteworthy that 5.2 percent of the lawyers in Federal agencies as a whole, and 6.9 percent of the attorneys in the U.S. Department of Justice, are women.

During their early married lives, women's political participation is limited by the need to work near their homes. Conversely, the very high percentage of political work at the precinct level that is done by women shows the extent of their interest and their skill in activities that can be undertaken close at hand.

As more and more women plan ahead for a career after their children are grown, and apply themselves in earlier years to a grassroots apprenticeship, the scale of their political activity is likely to broaden. Even those with active home responsibilities can undertake municipal or county contests for the school board or the town council or accept appointment on local advisory bodies, and more and more of them are doing so. For women whose families are grown, the presence at the State capital required by membership in the State legislature—normally for 2 to 3 months every other year—is not insuperable; it is frequently easier for them to get away than for men other than those who are self-employed.

Women should be encouraged to seek elective and appointive posts at local, State, and National levels and in all three branches of government.

Party Recognition

Party recognition of women as practicing politicians is developing. In some areas and at some levels in party hierarchies, it extends to the inner councils where central decisions are made. More often, it is ceremonial. Women sit on platforms at campaign rallies and at high tables at party fundraising dinners. National committeemen are matched by national committeewomen, men chairmen by women vice chairmen on committees below the national level and in the national party headquarters.

The fact that many politically minded women active at the precinct level do not expect recognition by a victorious party when plans are made for appointment and advancement following a successful campaign may be a factor in their being given minor consideration by the party's top power structure. Prejudice against women in politics, though few political inner circles are free of it, diminishes as more women turn in political performances that help the party's record in the eyes of the electorate.

Both major parties carry on a talent search for prospects for top executive appointments, women as well as men. The Commission commends the parties' efforts to maintain up-to-date lists of highly qualified and available women. These should include candidates for posts where special skills—in science, medicine, law, for instance—cause the employment to be excepted from Civil Service regulations, and for nonpartisan appointments such as judgeships.

Public office should be held according to ability, experience, and effort, without special preferences or discriminations based on sex. Increasing consideration should continually be given to the appointment of women of demonstrated ability and political sensitivity to policy-making positions.

continuing leadership

Throughout this report the Commission has considered women in the context of the total American society, not as a group apart and not as a group whose progress can be secured separately. It is, therefore, recommended that Federal action taken as a result of the Commission's proposals become operative through regular and existing Federal Government structure.

To further the objectives proposed in this report, an Executive order should:

1. Designate a Cabinet officer to be responsible for assuring that the resources and activities of the Federal Government bearing upon the Commission's recommendations are directed to carrying them out, and for making periodic progress reports to the President.
2. Designate the heads of other agencies involved in those activities to serve, under the chairmanship of the designated Cabinet officer, as an interdepartmental committee to assure proper coordination and action.
3. Establish a citizens committee, advisory to the interdepartmental committee and with its secretariat from the designated Cabinet officer, to meet periodically to evaluate progress made, provide counsel, and serve as a means for suggesting and stimulating action.

We consider the establishment of such a citizens committee to be of real import. Many of our recommendations can be made effective only through private, nongovernmental initiative, or through governmental initiative at other than the Federal level.

The Commission has noted with high regard the interest in its work that has already been shown at the State level. By August 1963, a number of States had already authorized or established State Commissions on the Status of Women and action to this end was underway in at least a dozen and a half others.

This report closes, as it begins, with a call to move ahead. Its findings are commended first of all to individual girls and women, with the hope that many will discover in these pages starting points for their own initiative, either to expect more of themselves and prepare for fuller development of all their talents or to be ingenious in locating means of keeping up to date and utilizing skills they have already acquired.

Many of our recommendations concern the improvement of environments, and to this end we invite concerted action, private and public, at community, State, and national levels.

But the best of environments is nothing if not used. The potential of American life depends for realization on the inner fiber of American citizens. For all of the phases of the lives of America's women on which the Commission has concentrated attention, information entirely adequate to a forward step, and in many cases to a breakthrough, is in hand.

This is our call to move ahead.

Robert F Kennedy

Orville L Freeman

Luther H. Hodges

W. Willard Wirtz

George D Aiken

Maurine Neuberger

Edith Green

John W Macy Jr

Mrs. Macon Boddy

Mary Ingraham Bunting

Esther Peterson

Mary E. Callahan

Henry David

Dorothy Height

Margaret Hickey

Viola Hymes

Margaret Mealey

Norman E. Nicholson

Marguerite Rawalt

Wm F Schnitzler

Caroline F. Ware

Cynthia C. Wedel

Richard A. Lester

AMERICAN WOMEN TODAY

It is appropriate at this time . . . to set forth . . . the story of women's progress in a free democratic society.

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY
THE WHITE HOUSE
December 14, 1961

Today's young girl growing into womanhood finds it easy to believe that life in her time is very different from what it was in her grandmother's day. And in almost any country—certainly in the United States—she is not only right, but right in a variety of particulars.

Important elements in most women's lives are changing rapidly: how long they live, where they reside, when they marry and start homemaking, their age at the time their children are grown, their work outside the home in paid employment and in voluntary activities, their use of their leisure. Recent changes appear still more striking when viewed in perspective; this section presents 20th-century developments related to women that are pertinent to the recommendations of the Commission.

Life and Health

When a young American now nearing her twenties was born at the end of World War II, she had a life expectancy of 69 years. This was 21 more years than if she had been born in 1900.

In health as well as length of life, gains made in the past 60 years are startling. By and large, the young girls of the 1960's were born in hospitals. Raised by the book on formula and baby food, with regular checkups at well-baby clinics, they were given shots that kept practically all of them from having diphtheria or polio and made scarlet fever a minor illness. There are regional and racial differences, but overall, only 25 babies in 1,000 die before they are a year old today; 145 did so in 1900.

Yet the girls now coming of age and those at the turn of the century have this in common: membership in a rapidly rising population. Then, the increase was due not only to rising birth rates, but also to the fact that immigration was bringing into the country as new citizens large numbers of young adults in the childbearing years. The first decade of the 1900's saw the greatest influx of all.

A downcurve followed. By the early 1920's, World War I and U.S. legislation had all but halted immigration. In the depression years of the 1930's, the domestic birth rate fell—life expectancy was rising, but economic expectancy was dubious enough to keep families small.

The next great influence on the birth rate was military expectancy. When World War II began, many young couples rushed into marriage, faced with certainty of separation and possibility of death. When it ended, the birth of the daughters now coming of age was part of an upward surge that continued.

Young women of the postwar years sought security in the early founding of homes. Between 1890 and 1962, the median age of marriage dropped from 22.0 to 20.3 years for women and from 26.1 to 22.7 years for men. Recently, three-quarters of a million girls have already begun homemaking between the ages of 14 and 19. In 1900, 2 out of 3 women in the total population had been married at some time in their lives; now, this is true of 4 out of 5 women. As of 1960, there were 488 children under 5 years for every 1,000 women of childbearing age; 291 would have been enough to replace the present population.

Concentration in Big Cities

The homes of today's families are for the most part not where they used to be. At the turn of the century, two American families in five lived on a farm and many others lived in small towns in rural areas. Mostly, they went to bed by lamplight, drew water from the well in the old oaken bucket. Today, less than 1 family in 10 lives on a farm, and almost all farms have electricity and water systems; many are equipped in the same way as town-dwellers' homes.

From one decade to the next, more and more families live in the metropolitan areas that cover the East Coast from north of Boston to south of Washington, border the Great Lakes from Buffalo to Milwaukee, and center their widening circles on Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay, Pittsburgh and St. Louis, Minneapolis–St. Paul and Houston, Seattle and Dallas, Cincinnati and Kansas City, San Diego, Atlanta, Miami. The countryside is filling up. Within 20 years, 190 million people—as many as the entire population today—are expected to be living in the country's 200 largest cities, though problems of urban and suburban blight, water shortage, air pollution, and traffic congestion are already pressing for solutions there.

U.S. POPULATION WILL BE MUCH LARGER IN 1980

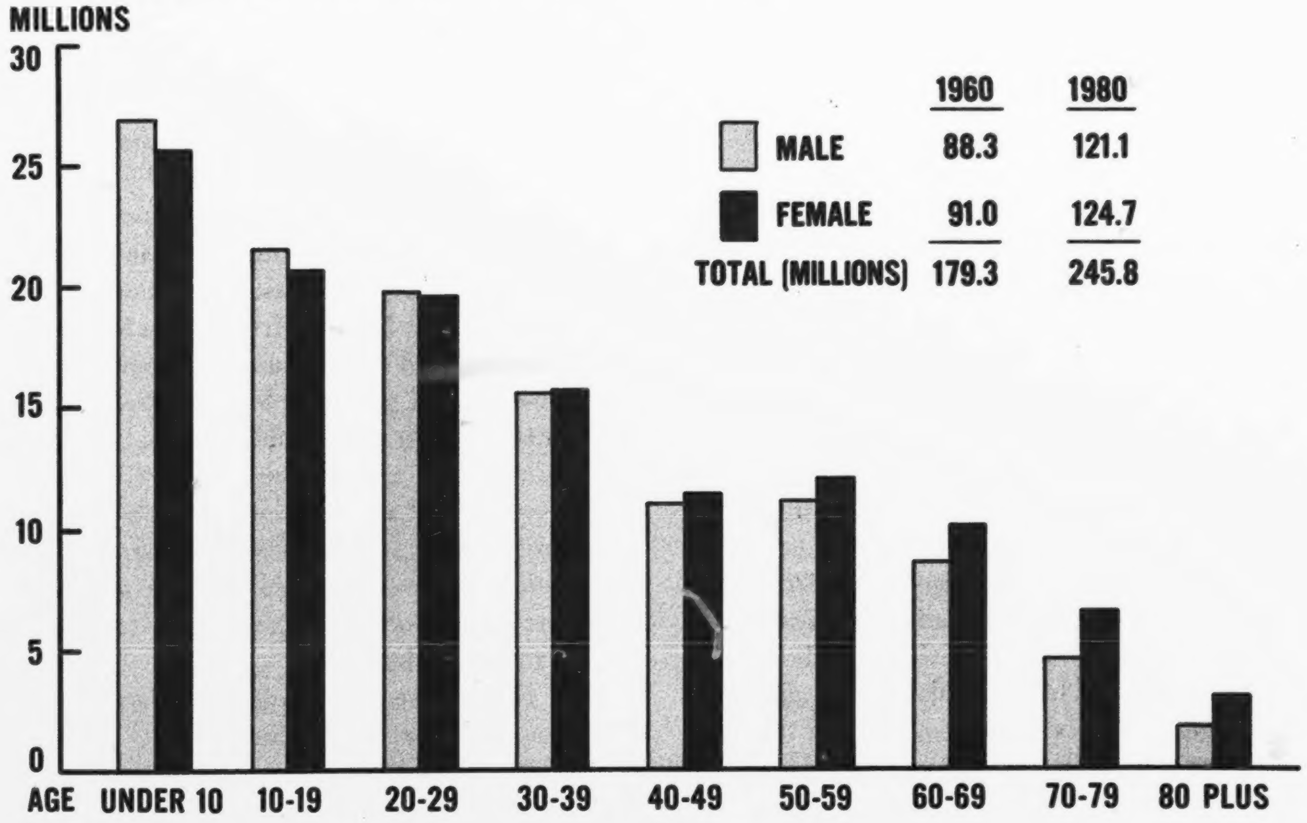


Chart 18. For source, see p. 73.

In looking at the American woman at home, it is well to remember that there is no such thing as an average American woman or an average American dwelling. The dream house shown in the movies, by the mass media, and on the subdivision circulars is not the only kind of dwelling that shelters American families. The 1960 census registered the increase in new apartments and suburban developments, but it also tabulated the continued existence of substandard dwellings, whether rural shacks devoid even of privies or congested city slums overcrowded with deprived families, especially from minority groups. Shortages of housing for low and lower middle income families continue.

The American Standard of Living

It is also well to remember that over the years, from the very beginning of this country down to the present, standards of living have had importance to Americans beyond the material goods that they comprise. There is a special reason why this has been so. Successive waves of newcomers—from the Spanish, English, Dutch, and French who thrust the aboriginal Indians westward, to the Irish, the Central and Eastern Europeans, and the others from five continents who came in the 19th and the early 20th century—quit societies where they had been born, looking for greater opportunity and greater freedom in the New World. After emancipation, American Negroes sought it, too.

The diversity of backgrounds from which all of these peoples came, and their lack of any common tradition, made it necessary for the Nation to find a unifying force that was external, something all could see and look upon as good. In a society where class distinctions were fluid, where there were no privileges based on birth and where equality of opportunity was a principle that over the years was approached more closely in practice, the attainment of successive standards of material goods was felt to prove something. The desire to have a house, a bathtub, a car was only in part a desire for a material object: its possession was specific and undeniable evidence that the American system had worked.

Consumer goods have always been conspicuous in U.S. national production, and the American woman has been in large part responsible for their form. But over the last 60 years, her ways of supplying family needs have changed out of all recognition.

Two Images

At the turn of the century, the popular assumption about the dowry of skills a young woman would bring into marriage anticipated that the young farm wife knew how to cook and bake, keeping the wood or coal stove stoked to the proper temperature; how to can and preserve the annual yield of orchard fruits and garden vegetables to supply a family requirement calculated at 125 quarts per person. She would use a sewing machine to make her long-sleeved blouses, her floor-sweeping dresses, her children's pinafores and her husband's shirts and nightshirts—his Sunday suit might be bought through the catalog of a mail-order house. She expected to nurse the family ailments prevalent at the time—children's diseases, pneumonia, typhoid fever, malaria, tuberculosis. In case there was no school in the back country, she would teach her youngsters herself.

Her home was largely self-sufficient, her outside activities chiefly in her church, its missionary society and its women's circle. Neighboring families, however, could rely on mutual aid at times of crisis—illness, accident, or death; fire; or crop failure.

Today's image of young married women is very different. It shows suburban mothers reading directions on packages or cans as they cook frozen or otherwise preprocessed food by gas or electricity. To buy it, they bundle the children into the car and set forth to market at the local shopping center, where transcontinental trucking systems have assembled in one area most of the consumer goods that suburban families use. They make the rounds from supermarket to five-and-ten, from drugstore to branch department store. Services are there, too: laundromats and drycleaning establishments, banks, dentists' and lawyers' offices, and beauty parlors. (In 1960, 267,000 women worked as beauticians; perfumes and cosmetics are a billion-dollar industry.)

The appeal to the modern young housewife of instant coffee and minute rice is a vivid indication that time is always short: perhaps that is why her hair is short; her dresses are short; at home or at play she is likely to wear shorts—and on occasion her temper is short, too. Since ironing is one of the least mechanized and most time consuming of household tasks, she likes drip-dry fabrics and contour sheets.

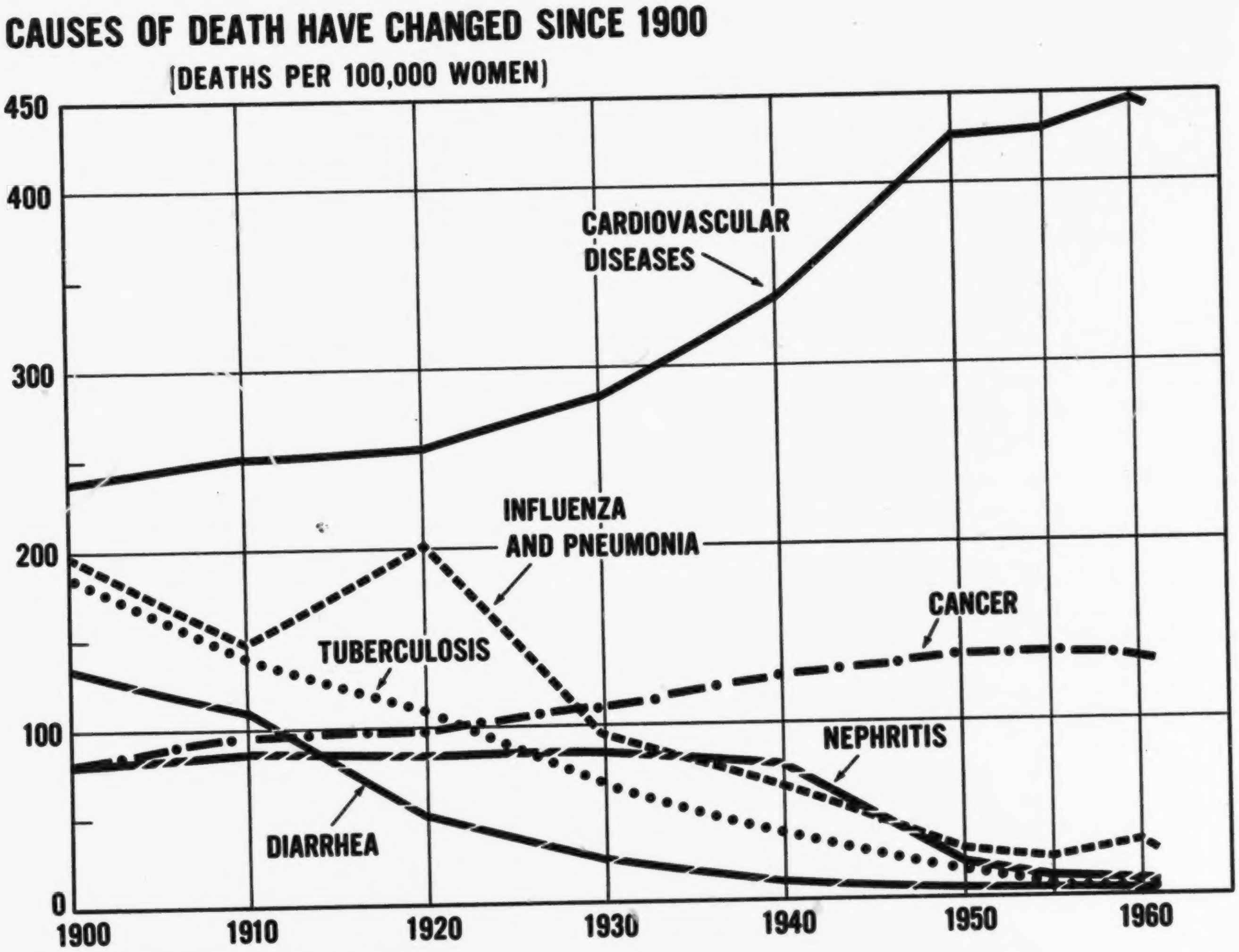
Except for minor childhood illnesses, suburban wives' nursing is likely to be as aides at the local hospital. But they are expected to be active in sales of TB seals at Christmas and Crippled Children's seals at Easter and to engage in fund drives for research and assistance to sufferers from diseases such as cancer and heart. These have become today's ranking causes of death, particularly afflicting persons in older age groups.

Homemakers' teaching will generally be as organizers of nursery schools or day care centers, as teachers' helpers, or as substitute or full-time teachers in public or private school systems.

The advertisements of a $20-billion business suggest that the family's recreation take the form of outdoor excursions to national parks, beaches, or city recreational areas, sandlot softball, bowling, golf, tennis, fishing or boating, water-skiing or skindiving. For most members of a family, football and baseball are spectator sports. So is horseracing. At home, many women are knowledgeable and avid gardeners; many men officiate as the family chef at cookouts.

Their cultural interests may lead them to library or museum, amateur theatricals, schoolband performances, the movies, or, depending on where they live, presentations by stock companies, visiting stars of stage and concert hall, or first-run casts with top billing in major centers. TV sets in the home are omnipresent, with commercially sponsored women's fiction and children's programs of widely varying quality or lack of quality by day, major newscasts and a range of fare from westerns and comics to prestige programs of national corporations by night. Ultra-high frequency and the educational TV network have their financial problems but are gaining viewers for serious programs.

The suburban norm is for evenings to be highly organized: the young wife and her husband belong to the Parent-Teacher Association, numerous civic bodies, voluntary agencies, and fund drives—United Givers, Red Cross, UNICEF, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls. Voluntary activities supply many services, from day care for children to projects to prevent juvenile delinquency to pilot programs in arresting urban or suburban blight and developing sound community life. Participation ranges from young girls to mature women to



CAUSES OF DEATH HAVE CHANGED SINCE 1900

(DEATHS PER 100,000 WOMEN)

Chart 19. For source, see p. 73.

retired professionals, and draws increasingly on widening social groups.

Suburban couples are expected to be active in their church and, to a lesser extent, in their political party, where the wife is called on to do much of the preelection doorbell ringing.

The suburban wife has constantly impressed upon her the importance of getting along well with people, adjusting easily to new locations. She is likely to move at fairly frequent intervals, and though there is an increasing sameness among American communities, particularly those built since the war, that makes one house or one school or one shopping center very like another, each move means new human relationships.

These images of the modern wife and the old-fashioned girl accurately illustrate some of the 20th-century changes in the activity of American women in their homes, but there is much that they leave out: the story of Negro progress over the hundred years since emancipation, and the extent to which the opportunities of Negro and other minority groups are still today more limited than those of other

Americans, for instance. Neither conveys adequately the range of American women's occupations then or now; neither describes the life of working women or wives of workers in the cities.

Women in Industry

Because agriculture was the standard occupation of the American people during the early days of the Nation, the idyl of rural life became a national myth. Actually, by 1900, the towns and cities of the United States were well on their way to the predominance they have now attained. Industry, finance, and commerce were booming, and women had begun to work in town outside the home in very substantial numbers. They operated industrial machinery; they tapped the typewriters newly installed beside rolltop desks in urban offices.

The working conditions of the 5 million women who made up 18 percent of the labor force in 1900 were very different from those of the 24 million women who comprise 1 in 3 of the country's workers today. In 1900, the individual worker had little bargaining power. All wages were low. Arriving immigrants were eager for work on almost any terms. Trade unions existed chiefly in crafts where the workers were men; organization of women was difficult. The historic Triangle fire—in which 146 employees, mostly young women sewing on women's blouses in a New York loft, were burned to death—dramatized the precariousness of much industrial employment. Initial attempts in the States to temper exploitation through protective labor laws setting minimum wages and maximum hours for women were frequently nullified by court decisions declaring such laws unconstitutional. No social security system mitigated disaster for the disabled or those too old to work or those who became unemployed with the downswings of the business cycle. Only workers' solidarity, with the poor aiding the poor, and private charity blunted the cutting edge of prevalent misfortune.

Yet in the first decade of the century, women leaders—many of them developed in the groups associated with the great settlement houses, the House on Henry Street in New York under Lillian Wald and Hull House in Chicago under Jane Addams, and in the National Women's Trade Union League and the Consumers League—began to force increasing public attention on conditions of work, and helped put laws on State statute books requiring inspection and regulation of factory operation and installation of safeguards to reduce industrial hazards. Beginning with a historic court case in 1908, ceilings on hours of women's work began to be sustained by the U.S. Supreme Court. The first State minimum wage law was passed in 1912.

These leaders were representative of a determined generation that pioneered to widen opportunities for women as well as to mitigate the economic circumstances in which many of them worked.

The Early Feminists

There had been women's "firsts" all the way back to the second quarter of the 19th century, when female academies for the higher education of women began to be founded. A generation later, the first woman was admitted to medical school. Clara Barton, one of the early women government employees, Civil War nurse, international disaster relief worker, and founder of the Red Cross in the United States, was an outstanding example of this group. Spreading from early establishments in New England, public elementary education for girls had become general by the latter part of the century, but only then were such women as M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr literally and figuratively emerging from behind the curtains that initially screened them from the view of men students at the world's great universities.

Agitation to obtain the vote also dated from the mid-19th century; before 1900, four western States granted suffrage on the State level. During the first decade of the 20th century, careful organization led by Carrie Chapman Catt added seven more States and one territory to the suffrage columns. In 1917, Montana sent to the Federal Congress the first woman member of the House of Representatives.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914, and U.S. entry 3 years later, accelerated a number of trends. With full employment, the end of large-scale immigration, and mounting pressures for production, a climate developed favorable to improvement of working conditions and wages and to trade union organization. Unionization of the clothing industry was of direct benefit to women workers. Alike in government and industry, women began to be employed on new kinds of jobs. Dr. Alice Hamilton, who had become managing director of the first State Occupational Disease Commission in Illinois in 1910, served through the war as consultant to the Federal Government on the dangerous trades, and in 1919 was appointed the first woman member of the Harvard medical faculty. In 1920, the wartime Women-in-Industry Service was made permanent as the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor under Mary Anderson. Her first job, as a Swedish immigrant to the United States, had been in domestic service. By this time, the economy included about 8¼ million women workers.

The 19th Amendment

Political recognition increased, too. Prior to the presidential election of 1916, the suffrage movement opened a campaign to obtain the vote through a Federal constitutional amendment. At the Republican Convention in Chicago, a wind-driven November rain lashed the route of the scheduled suffrage parade, but 10,000 women, umbrellas held high and soggy skirts swabbing the pavement, nevertheless marched. Delegates to the Democratic Party's Convention in St. Louis, on their sun-flooded route to the Convention hall, had to pass between erect and silent lines of women in white with yellow parasols. By 1920, the 19th amendment had been voted by the Congress and ratified by the States. The League of Women Voters was formed to encourage political participation.

Because of the increase in kinds of work done by women during the war, and resulting performance records, the young women who came of age in the 1920's had before them varied new models representing what women could do. In the course of the decade, a considerable number of women attained standing in the professions.

At the same time, the industrial expansion of the 1920's increased women's earning power and placement opportunities. Low wages continued throughout most of the economic structure, though Henry Ford's daring 1914 decision to pay $5 for an 8-hour day found imitators on the new assembly lines. The then large agricultural sector of the economy was in difficulties, but the standard of living of many families, especially in urban areas and middle-to-upper income groups, rose. Then the stock market collapse of 1929 triggered the loss of many economic gains, and in the early thirties the Great Depression braked the economy to a near halt. Women and Negroes experienced the truth of the adage that they are last to be hired, first to be fired.

The Roosevelt Era

The national social legislation passed after inauguration of the Roosevelt administration changed the economic position of women in many ways. For the first time, the Cabinet had a woman member—Frances Perkins, previously Industrial Commissioner of the State of New York, became Secretary of Labor. The right to organize was affirmed in the Wagner Act, and its provisions given effect through the National Labor Relations Board. Industrial unionism, paralleling the craft unionism of the past, brought collective agreements into industries employing many women, such as textiles and telephones.

The social security system instituted in 1935 assured the great majority of both women workers and women dependents of workers that they would have a backlog for their old age and a stopgap for periods of unemployment. Public assistance programs aided the unfortunate. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 placed a floor under wages and established the 40-hour week for the great majority of both men and women whose products moved in interstate commerce.

Women in World War II

The outbreak of World War II in 1939, and U.S. entry in 1941, brought another period of full employment, and with it new opportunities for women. In 1940, 48 percent of the country's single women were working; by 1944, 59 percent. The women's components of the armed services put 266,184 women into uniform. Tillie the Toiler and Rosie the Riveter became classic figures on the American industrial scene; under the Lanham Act, day care centers took care of the youngsters of many working mothers while they boosted war production.

Both the amount of women's employment and its varieties changed. Many women, especially in minority groups, who had been in domestic service were able to move into other occupations. The women working as household help had formed 18 percent of women workers in 1940; the percentage so employed had dropped to 8 by 1950.

After the war, though many women withdrew from the labor force, many others either stayed in or went in. Between 1947 and 1962, the number of women workers increased by 7.6 million.

Postwar Marriage and Education

The world into which the young women now reaching maturity were born differed from the prewar world in many ways. At the same time that younger marriages increased, general expectations rose as to the number of years of schooling that a young person should complete. In 1950, there were 3,327,000 girls in high school and 727,000 in college and graduate work. Frequently both the man and the woman in a postwar couple were students. To a growing extent, young couples shared the tasks of the home. But, frequently also, the wife halted her own education and worked to support the family while her ex-soldier husband went to college with the aid of the GI Bill of Rights.

Throughout the early postwar period, the economy boomed; worry about a job was not high on the list of a young couple's troubles; to them, the Great Depression was history. Assurance of steady earnings made the use of consumer credit practicable and general; on installment buying, young people were able to start their married years in homes and with equipment for which earlier generations had had to save, obtaining them on a cash basis at a later period in their lives.

New Income Levels

Over the years, the levels of American family incomes materially changed. In 1961, the median family income of America's 46.3 million families was $5,737, up from $3,319 in 1950. With gains in workers' incomes, and with production of consumer goods increasingly aimed at mass markets, the country has become a middle-income country. Whenever one or more workers in the family is regularly attached to the economy, earnings are at levels permitting an increasingly wide range of consumption. Today's poverty, unlike the general poverty due to low wages in the past, centers in the families and individuals who for various reasons cannot attach themselves to the economy or succeed in doing so only irregularly or at the inadequate levels of today's minimum wage. Rising price levels devalue resources available either from welfare or other public programs or from past savings; a new hard core of disadvantaged people, many of them women with children, many of them in upper age groups, is forming in American cities.

Though still far lower than men's, women's earnings bulk increasingly larger. Many single women work throughout their adult lives; the period when the single woman had to rely for support on her father if she did not marry is over. In 1961, the median income of the 19 million women who worked at a full-time job was $2,574. In some 12 million families where the husband was working full time and the wife was in the labor force, the family median was $8,154. Since most of a family's purchases of consumer goods are made by the wife, recent gains have placed on her an increased responsibility to manage money wisely at the same time that they gave her increased options for its expenditure.

Life's Second Half

Earlier marriage, better health and longer life, homes increasingly equipped with laborsaving apparatus, all have greatly altered the second half of the American woman's adult life in the postwar years. Today's married couples have an average of 15 years to share together after their youngest child is grown up and gone. Family responsibilities, lessened from the time the youngest is in school and reduced again when the last child leaves, free many married women in their late thirties and their forties to work or carry on voluntary activities outside the home, part time at first, full time later. These new entrants are in addition to the women who because of economic necessity or other considerations have been in the labor market from early in their lives. In 1940, married women made up less than a third of the female work force; by 1950, their number had reached half, and by 1962, exceeded half of all women workers. The rise has been chiefly due to increased entry by mature women: between 1947 and 1962, the number of women 45 and older who were working doubled. As of 1962, the average age of employed women was 41 as compared with 37 in 1950. In 1900, it was 26. Better health and vigor likewise enable women to work at ages that a few years ago would have been thought advanced. In 1960, 548,000 of the 3.3 million women between 65 and 69 were in paid employment.

A woman of 70 has a life expectancy of 12.2 years. The number of women 75 and over rose from 2.1 to 3.1 million between 1950 and 1960; more than half a million are 85 or more.

In spite of the increase in divorce—the number of divorced women in the population rose from 273,000 in 1920 to 1,708,000 in 1960—greater longevity on the part of both men and women results in the maintenance of married life in independent households to older ages than formerly. But as the years go on, both elderly married couples and elderly individuals, mostly widows, find management of a home either too burdensome or too costly. Institutions for their care, with or without medical attendance, and nursing homes for the senile are now being developed on both a commercial and a nonprofit basis. Generally, demand for places in such residences far exceeds currently available supply.

The staffing of facilities of this kind with professional personnel and assistants trained in geriatrics is only one example of the growing requirements for skilled services that are changing the emphasis in all employment.

Changing Opportunities

A review of the occupations of women in 1960 as compared with 1950 shows very clearly where new opportunities have been opening and where older types of employment are declining or stagnating.

Contraction in agriculture is illustrated by a drop of 46 percent in the number of women who work on farms. The decline in unskilled work in general appears in a drop of 14 percent in nonagricultural women laborers.

Recent sluggishness in manufacturing and the extent of automation of existing processes are reflected in a growth of only 8 percent in the number of women operatives. Trade union figures underscore the absence of growth in factory employment. In 1960, there were 3.4 million women trade unionists. They constituted 18 percent of all union members. Their numbers have changed very little in recent years. Women's employment has not been expanding in such long-organized fields as the needle trades and various branches of textiles; the same is true in communications, where automation has kept jobs from increasing with sales. Only 14 percent of the women who work are in trade unions; the kinds of employment in which most of them work have always been unorganized.

While proportionately fewer of the women in the work force were employed in household employment in 1960 than in 1950, the total number of women so employed rose by 24 percent. Sales staffs expanded by about the same amount—25 percent.

The really large increases, signaling the areas where economic growth has recently accelerated, were in professional employment, which went up 41 percent; clerical work, up 46 percent; and service jobs, up 48 percent.

Room at the Top

These increases showed where jobs were available to be filled and women had filled them. But the numbers of women in top-level executive or administrative positions or in positions demanding the specialized skills of high technology have not risen with the expansion of a segment of the economy that would expand still faster if properly qualified personnel were available in greater numbers. Shortages of highly trained people explain why help-wanted signs are out at a time of relatively high unemployment levels.

An urge toward high professional achievement strongly characterized the generation that came of age in the 1920's.

A comparable urge is evident today among women from minority groups to whom opportunities are newly opening. But the desire to excel in intellectual fields has been maintained much less strongly among women from the parts of the American population in which the existence of women's opportunities for high achievement have for several decades been taken as a matter of course.

There are brilliant exceptions. In the postwar period, two American women have won Nobel prizes. The National Academy of Sciences has elected five women to membership. Newspaperwomen have won 5 Pulitzer prizes; women authors in the fields of biography, poetry, history, drama, and fiction have won 38 more. In nonfiction and fiction alike, books by women have consistently placed high on bestseller lists. In theater, opera, and ballet, women's performances have received international recognition. There are many women in the country's outstanding orchestras.

Yet the capacities of many other women are clearly not being developed to their

EDUCATION AND EARNING POWER GO TOGETHER

(MEDIAN INCOME OF WOMEN,1961)

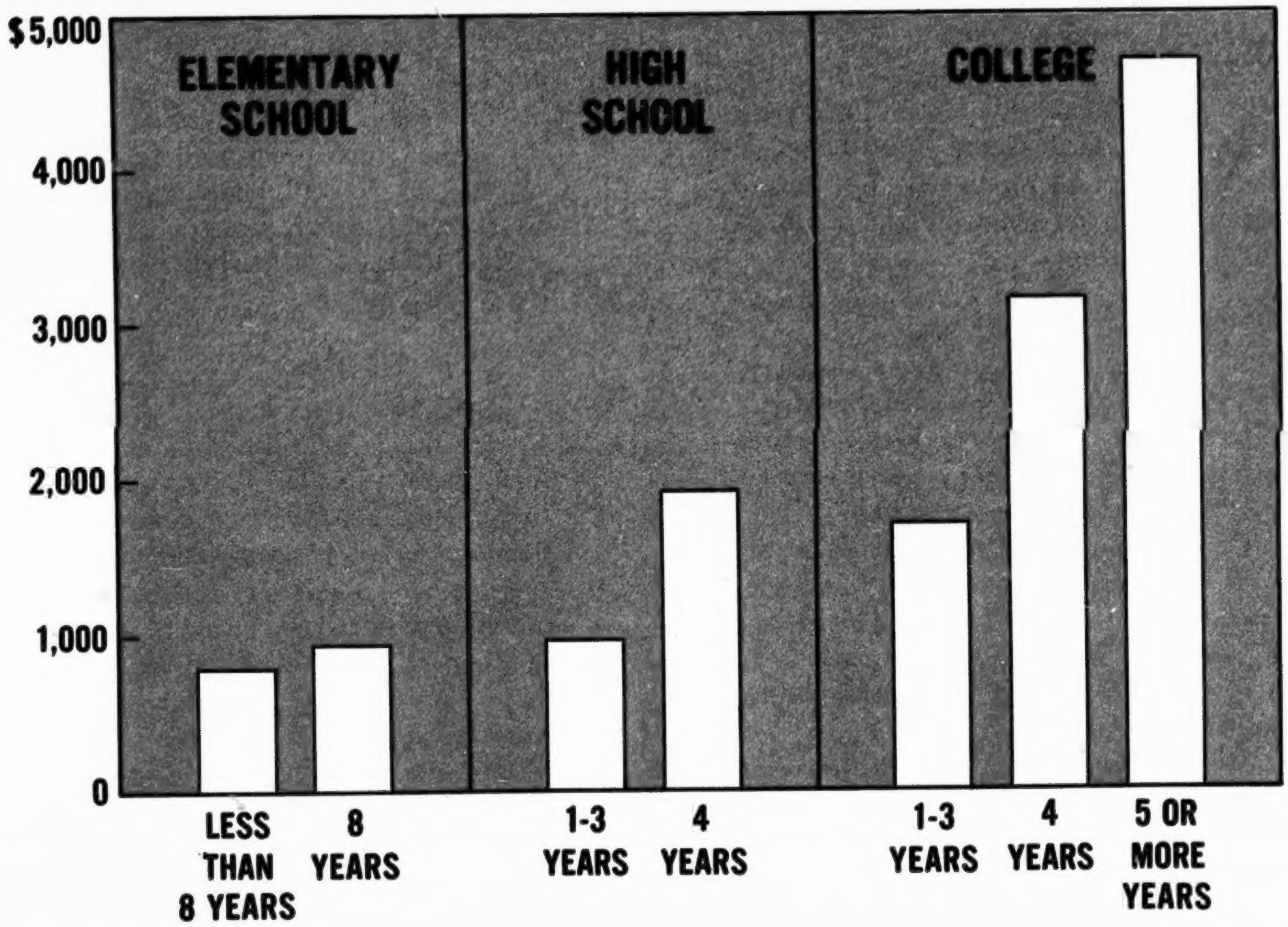


Chart 20. For source, see p. 73.

JOB OPENINGS WILL BE DIFFERENT IN 1970

(ESTIMATED PERCENT CHANGE 1960-70)

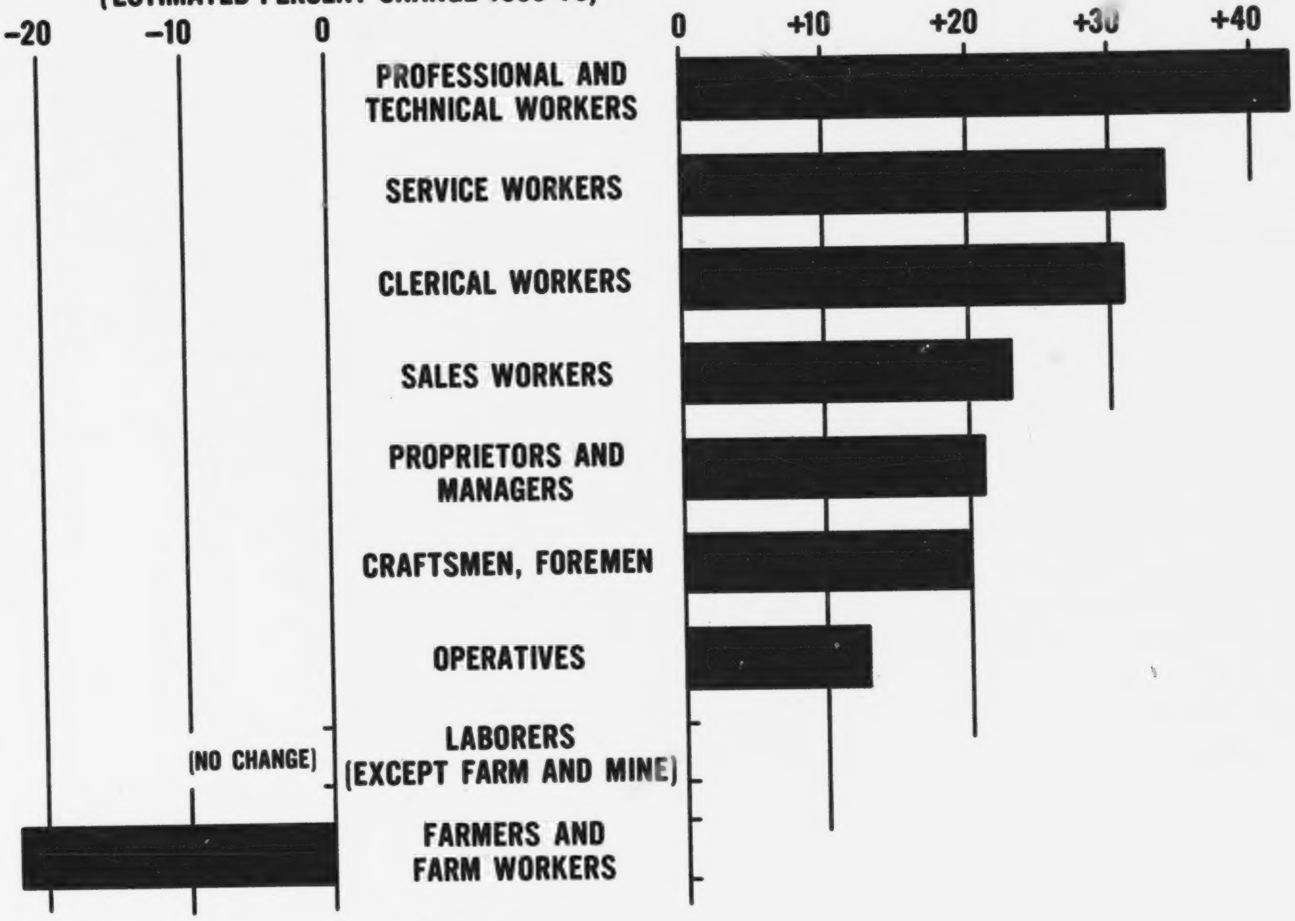


Chart 21. For source, see p. 73.

full potential. Many able girls graduating from high school do not go on to college, and the fields of specialization of those who do go cluster rather closely in education, social sciences, English, and journalism. It is particularly at the graduate level, however, that women fall behind. The number of women earning B.A.'s was 5,237 in 1900, 76,954 in 1940, and 145,514 in 1961. But since the war, the percentage of M.A.'s to B.A.'s has not risen as it did in the previous period; it has remained static at between 16.3 and 18.8 percent, standing at 16.8 percent in 1961. There has been similarly little change in the percentage of Ph. D.'s. In 1961, women earned 24,481 M.A.'s and 1,112 Ph. D.'s; the comparable figures for men afford a sharp contrast—54,459 M.A.'s and 9,463 Ph. D.'s.

Projections of where employment will be located by 1970 dramatize the gap that is developing between women's qualifications and the requirements of the jobs that offer talent greatest scope. The existence of room at the top, and of increasing room as women upgrade their abilities at any level, is easy to demonstrate. Economic rewards are there, too. The median full-time income of women with 5 or more years of college and advanced work was $4,694 in 1961, about $1,500 above the median income of those who are college graduates only, and almost five times the $950 median of women who have graduated from elementary school but not completed high school.

Changing Attitudes

Among the postwar generation of women, the possession of less educational experience than they could have had, and correspondingly less developed skills, was deliberate. For many, the search for security in their homes was a primary objective, and the care of young children became all absorbing during years that in the past have been the conventional time for a young person to carry on full-time advanced study. But now, increasingly flexible and locally available academic institutions are beginning to permit young married women to keep up their interests and skills even while they are busiest at home, and locally organized means of marketing their skills on a part-time basis are developing. A growing feeling on their part that life in a child's world uses only part of their capacities has over the past few years motivated more of them to keep alive their intellectual interests and increased the degree to which American society will have the benefit of all of its human resources.

The young American woman starting out in life today has exceptional need to be self-reliant. Her making of decisions is likely to take place in a community which is new to her, and frequently is itself so new as to be almost without a past. Her husband's work is likely to be far enough away from home for their associates during the working day to overlap only slightly if at all. Her contemporary relatives, and her parents and grandparents, are likely to be widely scattered over the country. The number of adults other than wives who are related to the heads of families and live in the same household with them has been small for some years; it declined further between 1950 and 1960. Many families, indeed, have members abroad, with civilian organizations from the Peace Corps to the Foreign Service, or with military units, or studying on educational grants, or engaged in business.

In exercising her resourcefulness, however, both in respect to her life as an individual and her life as wife, mother, and homemaker, today's young woman has many special advantages.

Today's Home Management

Though in too many families the struggle for a bare existence goes on, the majority have enough economic leeway to permit a widening measure of choice. In practically all families, decisions about spending include decisions on how to spend time as well as money. The 8-hour day, the 5-day week, and paid vacations are by no means universal, but they are very common. The new dimensions of life for which the present generation can plan include not only greater length of years but also more free time as they go along. In the 1960's, man's work no longer runs from sun to sun, and woman's work can be finished.

As a result, home management now looks increasingly to the cultural as well as the physical well-being of the family. Homemakers count among their resources the local library and the local museum as well as the local shopping center and the local hospital. Book sales are booming. The paperback book industry is a new development which puts classic and modern authors within reach of modest incomes. Women in particular are active readers of magazines.

The churches have been important all along; they are now: over 116 million Americans have religious affiliations.

New responsibilities for culture have recently devolved upon the average American family. In the past, philanthropists and connoisseurs have endowed universities, libraries, and museums, supported creative artists, collected paintings and sculpture, backed theater and ballet. Today, with the changed distribution of incomes, while various foundations have cultural interests, the lavish patron has become rare. Funds for the support of the institutions that nourish mind and spirit must now come increasingly from families whose household budgets used to include little for such purposes beyond contributions to their churches and payment of college bills or admission to entertainments. Such families have become a major source of support for universities, orchestras, community theaters, special exhibitions. In some localities, cultural attractions funds are paralleling United Givers organizations, with women active in both.

The attainment of material standards of living reached a stage during the postwar years when 3 of every 4 families had a car, and jokes about fins and status symbols suggested that the urge to keep up with the Joneses was losing momentum. Future American standards are likely to be more inwardly felt than those of the past, to be matters of taste rather than matters of emulation in the possession of material things. The development in recent years, especially among young people, of a knowledgeable interest in music is a case in point. The number of community orchestras in the country went up from 650 to 900 between 1951 and 1961; discriminatingly chosen hi-fi record collections and players personally assembled from selected components are more and more usual in American homes.

Standards in this sense become judgments of excellence. They are of the mind and spirit, and the country is now homogeneous enough to have a common approach to them. Consequently, today's young American woman comes to maturity with a special measure of opportunity—to live in a period when American abundance is coupled with a quest for quality, to show forth excellence in her life as an individual, to transmit a desire for it to her children, and to help make it evident in her community.

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CHART 3. U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics (U.S. Bureau of the Census), PC(1)—1D, 1963, table 177, p. 436.

CHART 4. For 1920-30, Historical Statistics of the United States, op. cit., Series D 13–25, p. 71; for 1940–60, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics (U.S. Bureau of the Census), PC(1)—1C, 1962, table 84, p. 214.

CHART 5. Denis F. Johnston, Educational Attainment of Workers, 1962 (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), Special Labor Force Report No. 30.

CHART 6. Ibid.

CHART 7. U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, op. cit., tables 159, 194, 200, pp. 361, 487, and 519.

CHART 8. Jacob Schiffman, Marital and Family Characteristics of Workers, March 1962 (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), Special Labor Force Report No. 26, table K, p. A–15.

CHART 9. Children of Working Mothers (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Children's Bureau, 1960), Bulletin 382.

CHART 10. For 1920–30, Historical Statistics of the United States, op. cit., Series D 13–25, p. 71; for 1940–60, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, op. cit., table 84, p. 214; for 1970, Sophie Cooper, Interim Revised Projections of U.S. Labor Force, 1965–75 (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), Special Labor Force Report No. 24, table 2, p. 4.

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CHART 12. Federal Employment Statistics Bulletin (U.S. Civil Service Commission), April 1962.

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CHART 14. Employee Earnings in Retail Trade, June 1961 (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1963), Bulletin 1338–8, table 3, p. 19.

CHART 15. Data prepared by U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Division of the Actuary.

CHART 16. Data compiled by U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, May 23, 1963.

CHART 17. For population data, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, General Population Characteristics, New York, PC(1)—34B, 1961, Pennsylvania, PC(1)—40B, 1961, Wisconsin, PC(1)—51B, 1961 (U.S. Bureau of the Census); for registered voters, Legislative Manual, State of New York, 1961–62 (New York Secretary of State), and Pennsylvania Manual, 1961–62 (Pennsylvania Department of Property and Supplies); for voters in Milwaukee, from the Board of Election Commissioners, City of Milwaukee.

CHART 18. For 1960, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, op. cit., table 83, p. 214; for 1980, Interim Revised Projections of the Population of the United States, by Age and Sex: 1975 and 1980, op. cit.

CHART 19. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, National Office of Vital Statistics: for 1900–1940, Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900–1940; for 1950, Vital Statistics of the United States, Vol. I; for 1955 and 1960–61, Monthly Vital Statistics Reports, annual summaries, those years.

CHART 20. Income of Families and Persons in the United States, Series P–60, op. cit., table 27, p. 32.

CHART 21. Employment Projections, by Industry and Occupation, 1960–75 (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), Special Labor Force Report No. 28, p. 244, table 2.

Acknowledgements and References

The President's Commission on the Status of Women desires to recognize the service rendered by the many individuals and organizations that associated themselves with its work in one phase or another. We regret that even our extensive lists do not include them all. We owe a particular debt to individuals in virtually every Federal agency, and especially in the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. We owe a comparable debt to the Congress, whose support and appropriations made our work possible and permitted publication in this form.

The seven Committees that explored in depth the areas indicated in the Executive order establishing the Commission worked intensively for over a year in the areas of their specialization; their findings, and their suggestions for recommendations, were of inestimable help to the Commission in reaching its own conclusions. Technical secretaries assigned to each Committee provided continuing staff work and, together with Committee members, drafted their final reports.

Executive Order 10980

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

WHEREAS prejudices and outmoded customs act as barriers to the full realization of women's basic rights which should be respected and fostered as part of our Nation's commitment to human dignity, freedom, and democracy; and

WHEREAS measures that contribute to family security and strengthen home life will advance the general welfare; and

WHEREAS it is in the national interest to promote the economy, security, and national defense through the most efficient and effective utilization of the skills of all persons; and

WHEREAS in every period of national emergency women have served with distinction in widely varied capacities but thereafter have been subject to treatment as a marginal group whose skills have been inadequately utilized; and

WHEREAS women should be assured the opportunity to develop their capacities and fulfill their aspirations on a continuing basis irrespective of national exigencies; and

WHEREAS a Governmental Commission should be charged with the responsibility for developing recommendations for overcoming discriminations in government and private employment on the basis of sex and for developing recommendations for services which will enable women to continue their role as wives and mothers while making a maximum contribution to the world around them:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

PART I—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

SEC. 101. There is hereby established the President's Commission on the Status of Women, referred to herein as the "Commission". The Commission shall terminate not later than October 1, 1963.

SEC. 102. The Commission shall be composed of twenty members appointed by the President from among persons with a competency in the area of public affairs and women's activities. In addition, the Secretary of Labor, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission shall also serve as members of the Commission. The President shall designate from among the membership a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, and an Executive Vice-Chairman.

SEC. 103. In conformity with the Act of May 3, 1945 (59 Stat. 134, 31 U.S.C. 691), necessary facilitating assistance, including the provision of suitable office space by the Department of Labor, shall be furnished the Commission by the Federal agencies whose chief officials are members thereof. An Executive Secretary shall be detailed by the Secretary of Labor to serve the Commission.

SEC. 104. The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairman.

SEC. 105. The Commission is authorized to use the services of consultants and experts as may be found necessary and as may be otherwise authorized by law.

PART II—DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

SEC. 201. The Commission shall review progress and make recommendations as needed for constructive action in the following areas:

(a) Employment policies and practices, including those on wages, under Federal contracts.

(b) Federal social insurance and tax laws as they affect the net earnings and other income of women.

(c) Federal and State labor laws dealing with such matters as hours, night work, and wages, to determine whether they are accomplishing the purposes for which they were established and whether they should be adapted to changing technological, economic, and social conditions.

(d) Differences in legal treatment of men and women in regard to political and civil rights, property rights, and family relations.

(e) New and expanded services that may be required for women as wives, mothers, and workers, including education, counseling, training, home services, and arrangements for care of children during the working day.

(f) The employment policies and practices of the Government of the United States, with reference to additional affirmative steps which should be taken through legislation, executive or administrative action to assure nondiscrimination on the basis of sex and to enhance constructive employment opportunities for women.

SEC. 202. The Commission shall submit a final report of its recommendations to the President by October 1, 1963.

SEC. 203. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are directed to cooperate with the Commission in the performance of its duties.

PART III—REMUNERATION AND EXPENSES

SEC. 301. Members of the Commission, except those receiving other compensation from the United States, shall receive such compensation as the President shall hereafter fix in a manner to be hereafter determined.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 14, 1961.

The final reports of the Committees, which give substantiation for the recommendations of the Commission, have been published by the Commission as separate documents for ready reference by individuals and groups working in particular fields. These reports contain recommendations and analysis in broader areas than could be included in the Commission's report. Each Committee's conclusions are its own, reflecting its concerns and beliefs; these were developed prior to the taking of final decisions by the Commission.

The Commission is also publishing, in a single document, summaries of what was said at four consultations on the subjects of Private Employment Opportunities, New Patterns in Volunteer Work, Portrayal of Women by the Mass Media, and Problems of Negro Women.

These publications may be obtained from the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, or from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 20402.

During the sessions of the Committees, many materials—studies, briefs, statements in support of various viewpoints—were presented by individuals, organizations, and agencies, and their contents considered by the Committees as they reached their conclusions. These materials have been deposited with the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, where interested persons may consult them; specific references are contained in the Committee reports. Limited numbers of some of them are available for free distribution in mimeographed form.

Special acknowledgment should be made of a general background memorandum on *Women Today: Trends and Issues* prepared by Dr. Caroline F. Ware at Commission request. Initially available in mimeographed form under Commission imprint, it was republished by the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

Brief accounts of the work of the seven Committees, the names of the members of each, with their affiliations at the time of appointment, and those of the technical secretaries who worked with them, follow:

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

The existence of laws and practices discriminating against women in the several States caused the Committee on Civil and Political Rights to examine the constitutional position of women. Believing that equality under the law is implicit in the Constitution, and particularly in the 5th and 14th amendments, the Committee, after holding hearings and receiving briefs offering alternative solutions to the problem, recommended early court review—preferably by the U.S. Supreme Court—of the validity of laws and official practices discriminating against women, and urged interested groups to give high priority to uncovering and challenging by court action such laws and practices. The Committee proposed revision of laws governing jury service to ensure equal treatment of men and women; increased consideration to the appointment of women as judges and to other legal positions; and initiation of measures to stimulate fuller participation of women in political affairs. It likewise recommended that the United States work for extended international recognition of the rights of women, particularly through United Nations conventions established for that purpose; and specified areas in which State laws discriminating against married women should be modernized and other areas where research should be undertaken preparatory to reform.

Honorable Edith Green, *Chairman and Commission Member*
Miss Marguerite Rawalt, *Co-chairman and Commission Member*
Mrs. Harper Andrews, Former President, Illinois League of Women Voters, Kewanee, Ill.
Mrs. Angela Bambace, Manager, Upper South Department, and Vice President, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

James B. Carey, President, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
Miss Gladys Everett, Attorney, Portland, Oreg.
Mrs. Yarnall Jacobs, President, National Council of Women of the United States, Inc.
John M. Kernochan, Director, Legislative Drafting Research Fund, Columbia University
Judge Florence Kerins Murray, Associate Justice, Rhode Island Superior Court
Miss Pauli Murray, Senior Fellow, Law School, Yale University
Mrs. E. Lee Ozbirn, President, General Federation of Women's Clubs
Miss Katherine Peden, President, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
Mrs. Harriet F. Pilpel, Attorney, Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst, New York
Frank E. A. Sander, Professor of Law, Law School of Harvard University
Technical Secretary, Miss Mary Eastwood

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

In a period when the growth of knowledge and technological change requiring new skills are both occurring at uprecedented rates, acceptance of continuing education, including vocational education, as part of adult life and as part of the total educational structure was felt by the Committee on Education to be of highest priority. Such education must take account of the needs of women engaged in homemaking and of mature women preparing to reenter the labor force. The Committee likewise urged that new attention be given to preparing women for responsibilities related to their homes, and that guidance and counseling, by counselors aware of women's new opportunities, be made available for women of all ages.

Dr. Mary I. Bunting, *Chairman and Commission Member*
Miss Edna P. Amidon, Director, Home Economics Education Branch, U.S. Office of Education
Mrs. Algie E. Ballif, Former President, Utah School Board Association
Mrs. John D. Briscoe, Board of Directors, League of Women Voters of the United States
Mrs. Opal D. David, Former Director, Commission on the Education of Women, American Council on Education
Dr. Elizabeth M. Drews, Professor, College of Education, Michigan State University
Dr. Seymour M. Farber, Assistant Dean for Continuing Education in Health Sciences, University of California, San Francisco Medical Center
Mrs. Raymond Harvey, Dean, School of Nursing, Tuskegee Institute
Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, Superintendent, Denver Public Schools
Dr. Esther Raushenbush, Director, Center of Continuing Education, Sarah Lawrence College
Lawrence Rogin, Director of Education, AFL-CIO
Miss Helen B. Schleman, Dean of Women, Purdue University
Dr. Virginia L. Senders, Lecturer, Former Coordinator of Minnesota Plan, Lincoln, Mass.
Dr. Pauline Tompkins, General Director, American Association of University Women
Technical Secretary, Mrs. Antonia H. Chayes

COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

During the life of the Commission, the most far-reaching recommendation of the Committee on Federal Employment was put into effect—a requirement that hiring in the Federal civil service be solely on the basis of merit. A recommendation that the administration take steps to eliminate separate limitations on the number of women military officers was also adopted. Research was undertaken to bring out facts as to the extent to which a slower advancement rate of women results from nonmerit factors. These studies should have a bearing on private and State and local government employment. In addition, the Committee proposed fuller utilization in part-time employment of qualified women whose home responsibilities prevent their accepting full-time work. Appointments of women to political posts during the postwar period were reviewed, and continued attention urged to the search for and appointment of qualified and politically sensitive candidates.

Miss Margaret Hickey, *Chairman and Commission Member*
E. C. Hallbeck, Chairman, Government Employes Council, AFL–CIO
Judge Lucy Somerville Howorth, Former General Counsel, War Claims Commission, Cleveland, Miss.
Honorable Stephen S. Jackson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, U.S. Department of Defense
Mrs. Esther Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Government Employees
Honorable Roger W. Jones, Bureau of the Budget
Dr. Esther Lloyd-Jones, Head, Department of Guidance and Student Personnel Administration, Columbia University
Honorable John W. Macy, Jr., *Commission Member*
Dr. Jeanne L. Noble, President, Delta Sigma Theta, and Assistant Professor, Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University
Dr. Peter H. Rossi, Director, National Opinion Research Center, Chicago
Honorable Kathryn H. Stone, Virginia House of Delegates, and Director, Human Resources Program, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies
Honorable Tyler Thompson, Director General of the Foreign Service, U.S. Department of State
Dr. Kenneth O. Warner, Director, Public Personnel Association
Technical Secretary, Mrs. Catherine S. East

COMMITTEE ON HOME AND COMMUNITY

Services essential to more effective functioning of women in the home, in the community, and while working were canvassed by the Committee on Home and Community. Members particularly recommended increased provision of child-care services, establishment or expansion of skilled homemaker services under professional supervision, and pilot programs in household employment that will upgrade the status of such employment. The Committee explored new dimensions in volunteer work and in planning and carrying out activities to build constructive community environments.

Dr. Cynthia C. Wedel, *Chairman and Commission Member*
Mrs. Marguerite H. Coleman, Supervisor of Special Placement Services, New York State Division of Employment
Dr. Rosa L. Gragg, President, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer, President, National Committee for Day Care of Children, Inc.
Mrs. Viola H. Hymes, *Commission Member*
Mrs. Emerson Hynes, Arlington, Va.
Maurice Lazarus, President, Wm. Filene's Sons Co., Boston
Mrs. Martha Reynolds, United Community Services, AFL–CIO, Grand Rapids
Charles I. Schottland, Dean of Faculty, Brandeis University
Miss Ella V. Stonsby, Dean of College of Nursing, Rutgers University
Dr. Caroline F. Ware, *Commission Member*
Dr. Esther M. Westervelt, Instructor, Guidance and Personnel Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University
Technical Secretaries, Miss Ella C. Ketchin and Mrs. Margaret M. Morris

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT

The extent to which opportunities in private employment are open to women on the basis of their abilities was reviewed by the Committee on Private Employment with consultants drawn from a wide range of industrial activities. Special attention was given to employment by private firms holding Government contracts. The Committee recommended that an Executive order affirm the principle of equal opportunity throughout industry and establish government machinery to urge greater application of this principle in all industry and to forward it in connection with work carried on under Government contracts.

Dr. Richard A. Lester, *Chairman and Commission Member*
Jacob Clayman, Administrative Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO
Miss Caroline Davis, Director, Women's Department, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America
Miss Muriel Ferris, Legislative Assistant to Honorable Philip A. Hart, U.S. Senate
Charles W. Gasque, Jr., Assistant Commissioner for Procurement Policy, General Services Administration
Miss Dorothy Height, *Commission Member*
Joseph D. Keenan, Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Norman E. Nicholson, *Commission Member*
Frank Pace, Jr., General Dynamics Corp., New York
Mrs. Ogden Reid, Former President, Board Chairman, New York Herald Tribune
John A. Roosevelt, Bache and Co., New York
Samuel Silver, Industrial Relations Adviser, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, U.S. Department of Defense
Technical Secretary, Sam A. Morgenstein

COMMITTEE ON PROTECTIVE LABOR LEGISLATION

The adequacy and suitability to present conditions of the labor laws of the past 50 years were reviewed by the Committee on Protective Labor Legislation. Its recommendations cover changes in wage and hour laws, equal pay, regulation of homework, maternity benefits, hazards to health and safety, nightwork, workmen's compensation, collective bargaining, labor law administration, and the equalization of standards of labor legislation among the States.

Miss Margaret J. Mealey, *Chairman and Commission Member*
Mrs. Margaret F. Ackroyd, Chief, Division of Women and Children, Rhode Island State Department of Labor
Dr. Doris Boyle, Professor of Economics, Loyola College, Baltimore
Mrs. Mary E. Callahan, *Commission Member*
Dr. Henry David, *Commission Member*
Mrs. Bessie Hillman, Vice President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones, Vice President, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, Associate Director, Conference on Economic Progress
Carl A. McPeak, Special Representative on State Legislation, AFL–CIO
Clarence R. Thornbrough, Commissioner, Arkansas State Department of Labor
S. A. Wesolowski, Assistant to President, Brookshire Knitting Mills, Inc., Manchester, N.H.
Mrs. Addie Wyatt, Field Representative, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers
Technical Secretary, Miss Ella C. Ketchin

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL INSURANCE AND TAXES

Provisions of the Federal social security system and tax laws that affect women were considered by the Committee on Social Insurance and Taxes, which recommended changes in old-age and survivors benefits for various categories of widows and for dependents of single workers, in unemployment insurance for women who leave jobs because of family responsibilities, and in the tax laws regarding deductions of payments made by working mothers to cover child care.

Honorable Maurine B. Neuberger, *Chairman and Commission Member*
Honorable Jessica M. Weis, *Associate Chairman and Commission Member (deceased)*
Dr. Eveline M. Burns, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University
Mrs. Margaret B. Dolan, Chairman, Department of Public Health Nursing, University of North Carolina
Dean Fedele F. Fauri, School of Social Work, University of Michigan
Dr. Richard B. Goode, Brookings Institution
Miss Fannie Hardy, Executive Assistant, Arkansas State Insurance Commissioner
Miss Nina Miglionico, Attorney, Birmingham, Ala.
J. Wade Miller, Vice President, W. R. Grace & Co., Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. Raymond Munts, Assistant Director, Social Security Department, AFL-CIO
Mrs. Richard B. Persinger, Chairman, National Public Affairs Committee, Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
Technical Secretary, Dr. Merrill G. Murray

CONTRIBUTORS TO COMMISSION MEETINGS

In addition to the members of the Commission and the Committees, the following persons attended meetings of the Commission at various times, either to represent their principals or to make special presentations.

Bess Furman Armstrong, Writer
Hyman H. Bookbinder, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, U.S. Department of Commerce
Harvey E. Brazer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, U.S. Department of the Treasury
Ugo Carusi, Office of U.S. Senator George D. Aiken
Wilbur J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (for Legislation), U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Anne Draper, Research Associate, AFL-CIO
Evelyn Harrison, Deputy Director, Bureau of Programs and Standards, U.S. Civil Service Commission
Grace Hewell, Program Coordination Officer, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Dorothy H. Jacobson, Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Agriculture
Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, Deputy Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice
Katie Louchheim, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State
Ivan A. Nestingen, Under Secretary, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
John Nolan, Administrative Assistant to the Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice
Mrs. Donald Quarles, Chairman, Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services
Carlisle P. Runge, Assistant Secretary for Manpower, U.S. Department of Defense
Norbert Schlei, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice
John F. Skillman, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, U.S. Department of Commerce
John S. Stillman, Deputy to the Secretary for Congressional Relations, U.S. Department of Commerce
Gladys A. Tillett, U.S. Representative to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women
Anita Wells, Fiscal Economist, U.S. Department of the Treasury
Ellen Winston, Commissioner of Welfare, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

FOUR CONSULTATIONS

Attendance at the consultations organized by the Committees and the Commission indicated the widespread interest that has existed in the Commission's work. The document which presents the summaries of what was said at these meetings contains full lists of the attendance at each. The lists below give the names of the individuals, other than members of the Commission and the Committees and Federal officials, who took part.

New Patterns in Volunteer Work

Gretchen Abbott, Washington, D.C.
Miriam Albert, B'nai B'rith Women
Eunice P. Baker, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
A. June Bricker, American Home Economics Association
Wilda Camery, American Nurses' Association, Inc.
Sarah W. Coleman, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
Marjorie Collins, New York
Leora Conner, Zonta International
George Dooley, AFL-CIO
Mrs. Robert Egan, National Council of Catholic Women
Etta Engles, American Association of University Women
Mrs. A. G. Gaston, National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
Mrs. Arthur J. Goldberg, Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Maurice Goldberg, B'nai B'rith Women
Mrs. Edward Gudeman, Washington, D.C.
Margaret W. Harlan, Bethesda, Md.
Benjamin Henley, Urban Service Corps, District of Columbia Public Schools
Hulda Hubbell, Volunteer Service Committee, Health and Welfare Council of National Capital Area
T. Margaret Jamer, School Volunteers, New York
Ollie L. Koger, American Legion Auxiliary
Ruth O. Lana, American Association of Retired Persons-National Retired Teachers Association
Margaret Lipchik, Urban Service Corps, District of Columbia Public Schools
Florence W. Low, American Home Economics Association
Edith E. Lowry, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
Ruth T. Lucas, Cleveland City Welfare Federation
Lillian T. Majally, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
Marie McGuire, Public Housing Administration
Mrs. Abbot L. Mills, American National Red Cross
Ernestine C. Milner, Altrusa International, Inc.
Mrs. Stephen J. Nicholas, General Federation of Women's Clubs
Mrs. Alexander S. Parr, Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc.
Barbara Phinney, Girl Scouts of the United States of America
Betty Queen, District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare
Mildred Reel, Future Homemakers of America
Edith H. Sherrard, American Association of University Women
Constance Smith, Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study
Mansfield Smith, Experiment in International Living
Hilda Torrop, National Council of Women of the United States, Inc.
Mrs. Arthur E. Whittemore, League of Women Voters of the United States
Mrs. Joseph Willen, National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
Mrs. J. Skelly Wright, National Association for Mental Health
Emily H. Ziegler, Soroptimist Federation of the Americas, Inc.

Private Employment Opportunities

Eileen Ahern, Continental Can Co.
Charles B. Bailey, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes
Ethel Beall, Boston University
Mrs. Robert Bishop, Wellesley College
Louise Q. Blodgett, National Consumers League
Irving Bluestone, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America
H. T. Brooks, General Dynamics Corp.
E. B. Bruner, American Telephone and Telegraph Co.
William C. Bullard, Kelly Girls Service, Inc.
R. P. Carlson, The Martin Co.
John M. Convery, National Association of Manufacturers
Wesley W. Cook, Textile Workers Union of America
Mrs. C. E. Cortner, Girl Scouts of the United States of America
J. Curtis Counts, Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc.
Lucinda Daniel, National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
Marie Daniels, Rhode Island Department of Employment Security
Mary M. Dewey, Connecticut State Department of Labor
Anne Draper, AFL-CIO
Charles E. Engelbrecht, Insurance Workers International Union
Gerald B. Fadden, Philco Corp.
Walter R. Farrel, Kaiser Industries Corp.
M. Irene Frost, Trenton Trust Co.
G. Roy Fugal, General Electric Co.
Sherman L. Gillespie, Hughes Aircraft Co.
Stephen Habbe, National Industrial Conference Board

Doris Hartman, New Jersey Division of Employment Security
Miriam Healey, Girl Scouts of the United States of America
S. P. Herbert, General Precision Equipment Corp.
Fred Z. Hetzel, U.S. Employment Service for the District of Columbia
Cernoria D. Johnson, National Urban League
Elizabeth S. Johnson, Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry
Gloria Johnson, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
Lowell F. Johnson, American Home Products Corp.
Dan A. Kimball, Aerojet-General Corp.
Paul A. King, Scholastic Magazines, Inc.
Elizabeth J. Kuck, International Harvester Co.
Sarah Leichter, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union
P. B. Lewis, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.
Kenneth MacHarg, Sperry Gyroscope Co.
Olya Margolin, National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
R. W. Markly, Jr., Ford Motor Co.
Betty Martin, Institute of Life Insurance
F. F. McCabe, International Telephone and Telegraph Corp.
F. L. McClure, Radio Corp. of America
Ralph E. McGruther, Bendix Corp.
Eleanor McMillan, The Fashion Group, Inc.
Charles C. McPherson, Stanley Home Products, Inc.
Mrs. G. G. Michelson, Macy's
Minnie C. Miles, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
Frieda Miller, Easton, Pa.
Eileen Millin, Lobsenz & Co., Inc.
Mrs. C. B. Morgan, General Federation of Women's Clubs
Corma A. Mowrey, National Education Association
Ann Roe, Harvard University
Joseph S. Schieferly, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey
Mary E. Tobin, New York State Department of Commerce
S. W. Towle, Northrop Corp.
R. A. Whitehorne, International Business Machines Corp.
Paul F. Wold, Campbell Soup Co.

Portrayal of Women by the Mass Media

Ethel J. Alpenfels, Professor of Anthropology, New York University
Curtiss Anderson, Editor, Ladies' Home Journal
Margaret Culkin Banning, Writer
Betsy Talbot Blackwell, Editor, Mademoiselle
Al Capp, Cartoonist
Louis Cowan, Communication Research Center, Brandeis University
Polly Cowan, Station WMCA: Call for Action
Wallace W. Elton, Senior Vice President, J. Walter Thompson Co.
Betty Friedan, Writer
Hartford Gunn, General Manager, Station WGBH
Lorraine Hansberry, Playwright
George Heinemann, Public Affairs, National Broadcasting Co.
Stockton Helffrich, National Association of Broadcasters
Lisa Howard, American Broadcasting Co.
Morton Hunt, Writer
Joseph Klapper, Research Department, Columbia Broadcasting System
Bennett Korn, President, Metropolitan Broadcasting, New York
Gerri Major, Johnson Publications
Marya Mannes, Writer
Rosalind Massow, Women's Editor, Parade
Arthur Mayer, Writer
Herbert R. Mayes, President, McCall Corp.
Kathleen McLaughlin, New York Times
Joy Miller, Women's Editor, Associated Press
Jane Ostrowska, Cowles Publications
Marion K. Sanders, Editor, Harper's Magazine
Perrin Stryker, New York
Margaret Twyman, Community Relations, Motion Picture Association of America
Helen Winston, Producer, Columbia Pictures

Problems of Negro Women

Walter Davis, Assistant Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL–CIO
Hilda Fortune, New York Urban League
Maude Gadsen, Beauty Owners Association
Cernoria D. Johnson, National Urban League
Lewis Wade Jones, Consultant, Fisk University
John R. Larkins, North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare
Inabel Lindsay, Howard University
Gerri Major, Johnson Publications
Paul Rilling, Executive Director, District of Columbia Council on Human Relations
Ruth Whaley, Secretary, New York City Board of Estimates
Deborah Patridge Wolfe, Chief of Education, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives

THE SECRETARIAT

The work of the Commission would not have been possible without the support of the central secretariat. The persons listed below worked for the Commission for varying lengths of time. A number were made available by agencies represented on the Commission.

The editorial committee in charge of preparation of the report consisted of the following Commission members: Margaret Hickey, chairman, Richard A. Lester, John W. Macy, Jr., and Esther Peterson.

The report was drafted by Helen Hill Miller; its format was designed by Frank A. Guaragna of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Executive Secretary, Katherine P. Ellickson
Special Assistant, Mary N. Hilton

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Antonia H. Chayes
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Ella C. Ketchin
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June Mace
Caroline Mode
Ruth Morris
Marilyn D. Necessary
Rose Pistolesi
Olga Redman
Marlon E. Seward
Bertha H. Whittaker

Adminstrative
Colonel Irene Galloway (*deceased*)
Jean M. Wittman

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

The following organizations assisted in one phase or another of the Commission's work; a number of them made substantial contributions through the preparation of special papers for Committee consideration.

Alliance of Unitarian Women
Altrusa International, Inc.
American Association of University Women
American Bar Association, Family Law Section
American Civil Liberties Union
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Home Economics Association
American Legion Auxiliary
American Medical Women's Association, Inc.
American Newspaper Women's Club, Inc.
American Nurses' Association, Inc.
American Personnel and Guidance Association, Inc.
American Society of Women Accountants
American Women in Radio and Television, Inc.
Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc.
B'nai B'rith Women
Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
Council of State Governments
Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services
Delta Sigma Theta
The Fashion Group, Inc.
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Girl Scouts of the United States of America
Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc.
International Association of Governmental Labor Officials
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

- League of Women Voters of the United States
- The Lucy Stone League, Inc.
- National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
- National Association of Women Lawyers
- National Consumers League
- National Council of Catholic Women
- National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
- National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
- National Council of Women of the United States, Inc.
- National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
- National League for Nursing, Inc.
- National Office Management Association
- National Woman's Party
- Phi Chi Theta
- Public Personnel Association
- Quota International, Inc.
- Soroptimist Federation of the Americas, Inc.
- Theta Sigma Phi
- United Church Women
- Women's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- Women's National Press Club
- Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
- Zonta International

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

The names of the men and women appointed to the Commission, and the posts they occupied at the time of their appointment, were:

- Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, *Chairman* (*deceased*)
- Mrs. Esther Peterson
    - *Executive Vice Chairman*
    - Assistant Secretary of Labor
- Dr. Richard A. Lester, *Vice Chairman*
    - Chairman, Department of Economics
    - Princeton University
- The Attorney General
    - Honorable Robert F. Kennedy
- The Secretary of Agriculture
    - Honorable Orville L. Freeman
- The Secretary of Commerce
    - Honorable Luther H. Hodges
- The Secretary of Labor
    - Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg
    - Honorable W. Willard Wirtz
- The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
    - Honorable Abraham A. Ribicoff
    - Honorable Anthony L. Celebrezze
- Honorable George D. Aiken
    - U.S. Senate
- Honorable Maurine B. Neuberger
    - U.S. Senate
- Honorable Edith Green
    - U.S. House of Representatives
- Honorable Jessica M. Weis (*deceased*)
    - U.S. House of Representatives
- The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission
    - Honorable John W. Macy, Jr.
- Mrs. Macon Boddy
    - Henrietta, Tex.
- Dr. Mary I. Bunting
    - President
    - Radcliffe College
- Mrs. Mary E. Callahan
    - Member, Executive Board
    - International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
- Dr. Henry David
    - President
    - New School for Social Research
- Miss Dorothy Height
    - President
    - National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
- Miss Margaret Hickey
    - Public Affairs Editor
    - Ladies' Home Journal
- Mrs. Viola H. Hymes
    - President
    - National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
- Miss Margaret J. Mealey
    - Executive Director
    - National Council of Catholic Women
- Mr. Norman E. Nicholson
    - Administrative Assistant
    - Kaiser Industries Corp.
    - Oakland, Calif.
- Miss Marguerite Rawalt
    - Attorney; past president: Federal Bar Association, National Association of Women Lawyers, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
- Mr. William F. Schnitzler
    - Secretary-Treasurer
    - American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
- Dr. Caroline F. Ware
    - Vienna, Va.
- Dr. Cynthia C. Wedel
    - Assistant General Secretary for Program
    - National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Publications of the President's Commission on the Status of Women

AMERICAN WOMEN. The report of the Commission.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES:
- CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS
- EDUCATION
- FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT
- HOME AND COMMUNITY
- PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT
- PROTECTIVE LABOR LEGISLATION
- SOCIAL INSURANCE AND TAXES

FOUR CONSULTATIONS. Summaries of consultations held under Commission auspices on Private Employment Opportunities, New Patterns in Volunteer Work, Portrayal of Women by the Mass Media, and Problems of Negro Women.

Single copies of the Committee reports and the four consultations may be obtained from the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor or purchased from the Superintendent of Documents.

AMERICAN WOMEN, the report of the Commission, may also be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 20402, at $1.25 per copy.

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